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S. Lang

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The Principles of the Gothic Revival in England

S. LANG Hornsey College of Art, London

The restorers of Christian architecture are more consistent followers of classic *principles* than all these boasted Greeks.

Pugin

What Is a Revival

English seems to be the only language which has a word for revival. Revivals play perhaps a greater role in English eighteenth and nineteenth-century architecture and in the decorative arts of that period, than in any other country. The Gothic Revival is the most significant and most widespread one amongst a host of others, the Chinese, the Greek, the Egyptian, the Moorish and the Indian; some of which, particularly the last two, were short-lived.

In a discussion of the Gothic Revival in England a curious fact will emerge: While Gothic forms were used from the seventeenth century onward throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries, the reason why Gothic was imitated varied constantly. To show up and explain these variations will be the theme of this essay.[1] Up to a point this has been done in the past, for instance, by distinguishing between "revival" and "survival";[2] but there are subtler differences which have not been recognized.

It might be best to begin the story with an Italian revival of Gothic which was discovered by R. Bernheimer a few years ago.[3] This scholar found a number of stage designs dating from the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries connected with Bologna, that center of Gothic survival and revival.[4]

Bernheimer's paper is important in the present context for two reasons. He asserted that the Gothic Revival in Italy preceded that in England and he attempted a definition of what constitutes a revival. The second point shall come first. This is what Bernheimer says:

> . . . Gothic was to be taken out of the hands of the architects who had nursed it for so long and claimed by the theatrical designers as an operatic tool. When this occurred, the Gothic survival came to an end, and a revival movement arose in its place. The new men, architects in their off-hours only, were interested mainly in new and startling effects. They felt free, therefore, to employ the style of the past for their own ends . . . They had managed to tear themselves at length from a continuity that had constrained their colleagues in the past, and to end the subservience to architectural procedures inherited from mediaeval times. Thus they were enabled to return spontaneously to what to their predecessors had been a burden, unwillingly borne, for the new medium [theatrical design] had set them free. Like the English architects of the eighteenth century who changed from churches and college buildings to Gothic ruins in garden scenery, they were now at liberty to construe and misconstrue, according to their own image, emotional or sentimental, the forms of mediaeval art.[5]

Bernheimer's other point is, "These Gothic drawings [of stage designs] . . . are the first examples in the history of art of the deliberate choice by an artist among various architec-

*The problems of the Gothic Revival in England were first discussed in graduate seminars held by the author at the Department of French Studies in the Faculty of Letters, The University of Reading.

1. This essay will not attempt to deal with all the aspects of the Gothic Revival or offer a complete survey; it will only try to prove that the motto is correct.

2. Such a distinction has for instance been made by H. M. Colvin, "Gothic Survival and Gothick Revival," *Architectural Review*, CIII, 1948; K. Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, London, 1950 (1st ed. 1928), discusses the "Survival of Gothic" in his first chapter. Cf. the next note.

3. R. Bernheimer, "Gothic Survival and Revival in Bologna," *Art Bulletin*, XXXVI, 1954.

4. Cf. E. Panofsky, "Das erste Blatt aus dem 'Libro' Giorgio Vasaris; eine Studie über die Beurteilung der Gotik in der Italienischen Renaissance," *Städel-Jahrbuch*, VI, 1930; republished in English in *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, New York, 1957.

5. Bernheimer, "Gothic Survival," p. 283.

Bolsover Castle, view of Keep (photo: N.B.R.).

tural styles, preceding corresponding specimens in England."[6] This stress on a deliberate choice is important; whether it applies to the Bolognese is a different question. The Bolognese designers were aware of what mediaeval architecture had been like and may have found themselves bound by historical associations; their choice indicates perhaps a sense of history rather than a deliberate selection. Stage designers elsewhere may not have been aware of the problem and may not have had a relevant example before their eyes in the same way as the Bolognese had. Yet such an interpretation does not invalidate Bernheimer's statements about revivals *per se*.

A definition of what constitutes a revival is particularly important for the story of the Gothic Revival in England, since the statement that Italy preceded England elicited a reply from N. Pevsner, who pointed out that St. John's College Library, Cambridge, of 1624, with entirely Gothic two-light windows, preceded Bologna. What had happened there was "that these windows . . . were not at first liked . . . , but then accepted, when [Bishop] Carew argued that 'some men of judgment liked the best the old fashion of church window, holding it most meet for such a building'."[7] "In this attitude of choosing the Gothic style as especially suitable for one particular type of building I submit we have the Gothic Revival in its entirety."[8] But is this, however, the deliberate choice of a style long dead, or not rather an archaism or conservatism tinged by a sense of propriety and conformity? Here, then, we encounter for the first time the problem of the Gothic Revival in England before the mid-nineteenth century: The motivation is never clear cut, and the choice of style in this particular case was not the architect's but the patron's. Again we will encounter this problem later on.

More recently another such early revival had been quoted, namely the use of an ogee arch—generally only to be found in the fourteenth century—in the seventeenth-century cas-

6. Bernheimer, "Gothic Survival," p. 265.

7. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Cambridgeshire*, Harmondsworth, 1954, pp. 124–125.

8. *Art Bulletin*, XXXVII, 1955, p. 235.

tle of Bolsover;[9] Bolsover, built by the younger Smithson from 1612 on, is a sham castle deliberately copying the building it replaced;[10] thus again it cannot be called, and in fact is not, a revival.

The latest claimant to the earliest Gothic Revival building is Wollaton Hall: Built in 1580 it shows both the Italianate and the Gothic.[11] Its plan derives from Serlio and the façades and many details are either done in an Italianate vein or taken directly from Serlio. The central hall, however, is an English feature even if the position does not follow the tradition of such halls but again derives from Serlio; its meaning and function however, derives from English usage and hence it shows English, that is, Gothic, features. Again Wollaton Hall hardly qualifies as a revival building.[12]

We must now also ask ourselves whether a style can be "revived" which has not been recognized as such. The Bolognese certainly knew about Gothic as distinct from the Renaissance. But the first time that styles were recognized in England was in the mid-seventeenth century.[13] For men in the North the difference between Renaissance and mediaeval only became clear when pure Renaissance buildings

9. P. Thompson, "The Survival and Revival of Gothic Architecture," *Apollo*, LXXVI, 1962, p. 284; "Used by architects who had previously designed without them, these mediaeval details can only be explained as part of a conscious romantic gothic revivalism."

10. Cf. J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830*, 4th ed., Harmondsworth, 1963, p. 46. Bolsover, "built by Sir Charles Cavendish from 1612 on, consists of a massive square house, built on the site of the donjon of a mediaeval castle and itself deliberately partaking of the character of the building it replaced. It is in fact a 'sham castle' and as such it is the most prominent and complete manifestation of that curious poetic dualism which seems to have become attached to the castle idea, even before castles became obsolete as means of defense."

11. Built by Robert Smythson, 1580–1588; cf. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Nottinghamshire*, Harmondsworth, 1951, pp. 208–209. A similar house is Mount Edgcombe, Cornwall, earlier than Wollaton and linked to it by family connections. The sixteenth-century house was preceded by a Gothic one. (The present house was destroyed in 1941 and rebuilt without its center block.) Cf. *Country Life*, CXXVIII, 1960, pp. 1550–1553.

12. Summerson, *Architecture*, p. 32, relates the plan to Serlio's Third Book, London, 1611, f. 71, of Poggio Reale, Naples.

13. This passage is based on E. S. de Beer, "Gothic: Origin and Diffusion of the Term," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XI, 1948.

Wollaton Hall, west front (photo: N.B.R.).

were built there; up till then English architecture was a mixture of both styles, but accepted as classical. The difference between these buildings and Gothic was not very great and was not really appreciated. Only when Inigo Jones was building, did it become clear that the Italianate was radically different from the Gothic and that there were in fact two styles. Inigo Jones was the first to develop the notion of style: "Who, that hath right judgement in *Architecture* knows not the difference, and by the manner of their works how to distinguish *Aegyptian*, *Greek* and *Roman* structures of old; also *Italian*, *French* and *Dutch* buildings in these modern times."[14]

Even if the Bolognese artists were aware that Gothic was a distinct style, they were aware as little as Smithson and Bishop Carew of the stylistic variations within mediaeval architecture or of the difference between Norman and Gothic. Félibien seems to have been the first, in his treatise of 1687, to divide mediaeval architecture into two parts, the "Ancien" and the "Moderne."[15]

Wren must also have had an inkling that not all mediaeval was Gothic. He talks of the "ancient Saxon manner" before the Conquest but attributes to this era clearly buildings which were in fact Romanesque: "This [Westminster Abbey as restored by King Edgar in ca. 960], it is probable, was not a strong good building, after the mode of that age, not much altered from the Roman. We have some examples of this ancient Saxon manner, which was with piers or round pillars, much stronger than Tuscan, roundheaded arches, and windows; such was Winchester Cathedral of old . . . the royal chapel in the White Tower of London, the chapel of St. Crosses, the chapel of Christchurch in Oxford . . . built before the Conquest . . ."[16] Wren realizes that a new style came at some later point, though wrongly assuming that that had happened in the thirteenth century, thinking probably of Salisbury, and links its coming with the crusades: ". . . of this [a chapel behind the altar] he [Henry III] laid the first stone, anno 1220, and took down the greatest part of St. Edwards Church to rebuild it according to the mode which came into fashion after the Holy War. This we now call the Gothic manner of architecture (so the Italians called what was not after the Roman style), though the Goths were rather destroyers than builders . . ."[17]

Wren also mentioned the "nice embroidered work" of the Henry VII Chapel and although he realized that it was but "lately built" he drew no further conclusions.[18]

The first in England actually to divide mediaeval architecture into periods was the anonymous compiler of a *Builder's Dictionary* published in 1734. He clearly followed Félibien in his division into ancient and modern Gothic.[19] Two years later he was followed by Richard Neve, the compiler of another builder's dictionary, who in his earliest edition of 1703 had no entry on Gothic, in his second edition of 1726 gave the usual unflattering description of a style "far remov'd from the Manner and Proportions of the *Antique*," but in his third edition talked of the "Ancient" and the "Modern" Gothic: ". . . and this is called *The ancient Gothic* (*the modern Gothick* runs into the contrary Extreme, and is known by its Disposition, and by its affected Lightness, Delicacy, and over-rich, and even whimsical decorations; as many of our Cathedrals in *England* witness, in the Abundance of Windows, Roses, Crosses and Figures, with which every Interstice is cramn'd)."[20]

Not until after the middle of the eighteenth century did anybody realize that there were more than two phases in

14. Quoted by de Beer, "Gothic," p. 157, from Inigo Jones, *The most notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Heng*, edited by J. Webb, London, 1655, p. 68.

15. J. F. Félibien, *Recueil historique de la vie . . . des architects*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1696, Preface (not paginated): "A l'égard des bastimens Gotiques, il n'y a point d'auteurs qui en ayent donné des regles: mais on remarque deux sortes de bastimens Gotiques, scavoir d'anciens et de modernes. Les plus anciens n'ont rien de recommandable que leur solidité & leur grandeur. Pour les modernes, ils sont d'un goust si opposé a celuy des anciens Gotiques, qu'on peut dire que ceux qui les ont faits, ont passé dans un aussi grand excés de délicatesse, que les autres avoient fait dans une extréme pesanteur & grossiereté, particuliérement en ce qui regarde les ornemens. Il n'est pas difficile de trouver en France et en divers autres païs des exemples de ces deux sortes d'architecture."

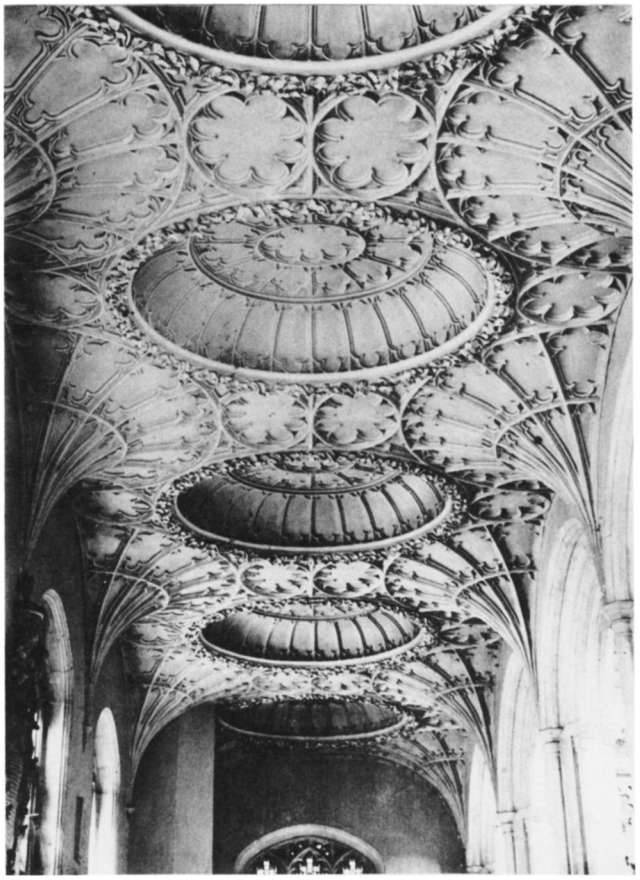
16. C. Wren, "Report to the Bishop of Rochester," reprinted in J. Elmes, *Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren*, London, 1823, Appendix, p. 106.

17. Wren, "Report," Appendix, p. 107.

18. Wren, "Report," Appendix, p. 112.

19. *Builder's Dictionary or Gentleman and Architect's Companion*, London, 1734. What he says about Gothic is very interesting and was obviously the inspiration of Richard Neve (see note 20 below) in 1736: "The *Gothic Architecture* is frequently very solid, heavy, and massive; and sometimes, on the contrary, exceedingly light, delicate and rich. The Abundance of little, whimsical, wild, and chimerical Ornaments, are its most usual Characters . . . Authors distinguish *Gothick* Architecture into two Kinds, *viz. Antient* and *Modern*. The *Antient* is that which the *Goths* brought with them out of the North into *Germany* in the Fifth Century. The Edifices built in this Manner were exceeding massive, heavy and coarse; from *Germany* it has been introduced into other Countries. Those of the *Modern* Gothic run into the other Extream, being light delicate, and rich to Excess; witness *Westminster Abbey*, the Cathedral at *Litchfield*, the Cross at *Coventry*, etc." (*s.v.* Gothic Architecture). N. B. both spellings occur, Gothic and Gothick.

20. R. Neve, *The City and Country Purchaser and Builder's Dictionary or, the Compleat Builders Guide*, London, 1726, *s.v.* "Gothick." R. Neve, *The City and Country Purchaser and Builder's Dictionary or, the Complete* [sic] *Builder's* [sic] *Guide*, (3rd edition by an anonymous editor), London, 1736, *s.v.* "Gothick."



London, St. Mary Aldermary, by Wren (photo: N.B.R.).

mediaeval architecture. Thomas Warton in the second edition (1762) of his *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser*, included a dissertation on Gothic, in which he outlined the various periods as he saw them. The Normans introduced arts and civility: "The style then used consisted of round arches, roundheaded windows, and round massy pillars, with a sort of regular capital and base, being an adulteration or a rude imitation of the genuine grecian or roman manner. This has been named the *Saxon Stile* [sic], being the national architecture of our own saxon ancestor, before the conquest: for the Normans only extended its proportions, and enlarged its scale." Warton then adds: "But I suppose at that time it was the common architecture of all Europe."[21]

Upon the Norman follows "a sort of *Gothic* Saxon," a style beginning in 1200 in which Salisbury was built;[22] from Warton's description one must conclude that he had Early English in mind. In ca. 1300 Absolute Gothic begins, a style in which Winchester College and the vaults of the Divinity School, Oxford of 1427 are built. This was followed by Ornamental Gothic in ca. 1441 and its best example is King's College Chapel, Cambridge. Afterwards the Florid Gothic arose first in the Chapel of St. George, Windsor of ca. 1480; Nonsuch was built in this style, as well as many cathedrals.[23]

Before Warton published his ideas on Gothic, Walpole and his Committee on Taste were aware of differences within mediaeval architecture, but they made no attempt to create categories; all they did was to call a particular phase after an outstanding building of this phase, e.g., "The Westminster Abbey Style,"[24] or after the reigning king, e.g., "Good King James the First Gothic."[25] In 1769 Walpole wrote to the Rev. William Cole of plans for a history of mediaeval architecture: "With regard to a history of Gothic architecture in which he [Essex] desires my advice, the plan, I think, should lie in a very simple compass. Was I to execute it, it should be thus. I would give a series of plates, even from the conclusion of Saxon architecture, beginning with the round Roman arch, and going on to show how they plastered and zigzagged it, and then how better ornaments krept in, till the beautiful Gothic arrived at its perfection; then how it deceased in Henry the Eighth reign, Archp. Warham's tomb at Canterbury being, I believe, the last example of unbastardized Gothic."[26]

From the 1760s onward it was only a question of time until somebody created a more logical division. In 1794, Repton, by asserting that there are only two types of architecture, "the one may be called *perpendicular*, and the other *horizontal*," incidentally described Gothic: "Under the first I class all buildings erected in England before and during the early part of Queen Elisabeth's reign, whether deemed Saracenic, Saxon, Norman, or Gothic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and even that peculiar kind called Queen Elisabeth's Gothic, in which turrets prevailed,

21. Th. Warton, *Observation on the Fairy Queen of Spenser*, 2nd ed., London, 1762, II, p. 186. Twenty years later, regretting his earlier aberrations, he addressed Reynolds thus in *Verses on Sir Joshua Reynolds's Painted Window*, London, 1782, p. 5:

> Thy powerful hand has broke the Gothic chain,
> And brought my bosom back to truth again.
> To truth, by no peculiar taste confin'd,
> Whose universal pattern strikes mankind.

22. Warton, *Observations*, II, p. 187.

23. Warton, *Observations*, II, pp. 188–194.

24. P. Toynbee, ed., *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, Oxford, III, p. 188, Walpole to Bentley, September 1753. Attention was first drawn to this and the following passage by N. Pevsner, "Good King James's Gothic," *Architectural Review*, CVII, 1950.

25. Toynbee, III, p. 258, Walpole to Bentley, 3 November 1754.

26. Toynbee, VII, pp. 303–304, Walpole to Cole, 12 August 1769. The architect James Essex (on whom see below) intended to write a history of English architecture.

though battlements were discarded, and Grecian columns occasionally introduced."[27]

Finally in 1817 Rickman created the divisions which are still in use today: Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular.[28]

Looking at this story of the slow recognition of what mediaeval architecture was about and how its various phases followed each other, one cannot really blame architects for mixing the various phases on one and the same building, as we shall see Hawksmoor doing, or for using Gothic forms at random, or even for mixing Italianate with Gothic or mounting ogee arches on columns, if indeed they aimed at purity of style. Finally, and this is the most important point, until it was realized that Gothic was a style apart—and the realization only came with Inigo Jones' pure Italianate style—one cannot talk of a revival at all. How far one can talk about a revival of Gothic in England later on remains to be seen.

Conformity and Association

Throughout the seventeenth century Gothic was still being built in England, in spite of the penetration of an Italianate style.[29] Although such buildings constituted a survival and not a revival, their existence indicated that there was no hostility toward Gothic. In fact, if one consults writers of the seventeenth century in England, one does not find any evidence of dislike, hostility, or disparagement. John Evelyn, the diarist, who can figure as spokesman for his century, is favorably disposed toward Gothic;[30] only in the second, posthumously published edition of his *Account of Architects and Architecture* (1707) appears a violent outburst against "this crincle-crancle" of Gothic.[31]

Obviously Evelyn had changed his mind—we do not know why, but possibly because the climate of opinion had changed; it is clear that about 1700 Gothic was "out" and the Italianate was "in." Yet Sir Christopher Wren and his assistant Nicholas Hawksmoor built Gothic. But it can be shown that Wren built Gothic always for a reason, either when adding to an existing building, as in Christ Church College, Oxford, or as in the case of St. Mary Aldermary, when a patron demanded that that style be used.[32] Wren had made it quite clear that he disliked the style; when writing about Westminster Abbey, he makes this statement:

I have made a design which will not be very expensive, but light

27. H. Repton, *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening*, London, (1794), pp. 14–15.

28. T. Rickman, *An Attempt to discriminate the Styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation*, London, 1817, pp. 37–108.

29. Colvin, "*Survival*," *passim*; A. Clapham, "The Survival of Gothic in Seventeenth Century England," *Archaeological Journal*, CVI, 1949, Supplement.

30. There are a number of entries in his Diary, which bear witness to his liking for Gothic: 31 July 1654 of Gloucester, "The Minster is indeede a noble fabric"; 17 August 1654 of York, "It is a most intire magnificent piece of Gotic [sic] architecture"; 3 August 1654 of Coventry, "The Crosse is remarkable for Gotic worke and rich gilding, comparable to any I had ever seene except that of Cheapeside in London, now demolish'd"; 21 May 1654 of Siena, "the front of this building, tho' Gotic, is yet very fine."

31. J. Evelyn, *Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern*, London, 1664, translated from R. Fréart de Chambray. Evelyn added to this translation *An Account of Architects and Architecture*. Into the text of the 1707 edition, published posthumously, he inserted an attack on Gothic: ". . . a certain Fantastical and Licentious Manner of Building, which we have since call'd *Modern* (or *Gothic* rather) Congestions of Heavy, Dark, Melancholy and *Monkish Piles*, without any just Proportion, Use or Beauty, compar'd with the truly *Antient*" (p. 9).

32. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, London, The City*, London, 1929, p. 81: ". . . rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren from a bequest of Henry Rogers conditional to its being a copy of the old building."

London, Westminster Abbey from south, showing towers by Hawksmoor and John James (photo: N.B.R.).

and still in the Gothick form and of a style with the rest of the structure, which I would strictly adhere to, throughout the whole intention: to deviate from the whole form would be to run into a disagreeable mixture, which no Person of good taste could relish . . .[33]

About the towers he has the following to say:

For all these new additions I have prepared perfect draughts and models, such as I conceive may agree with the original scheme of the old architect, without any modern mixtures to show my own inventions: in like manner as I have among the parrochial Churches of London given some few examples (where I was oblig'd to deviate from a better style) which appear not ungraceful, but ornamental to the east part of the City; . . .[34]

Wren leaves us in no doubt that he considers the modern idiom the better style, nor about the reason why he, in spite of his convictions, built sometimes in "Gothick": It was not any desire for a revival of that style, but conformity.

Hawksmoor, Wren's pupil, assistant, and follower, left no written remarks on this problem, but he too, when he built Gothic, did so only when adding to an existing Gothic building. He took over at Westminster after Wren's death and designed the towers, which were eventually finished by John James.[35] Hawksmoor also played a part, and a rather interesting one, in All Souls College, Oxford; there, he supplied a design "after ye Greek manner" and another in "Gothick."[36] It was the latter which was chosen (whether by the architect or by the College's spokesman, Dr. Clarke, we have no means of telling) and thus the unity of style of the building was preserved; moreover the exterior of the newly erected Library was taken from the genuine Gothic College Chapel and thus the façade toward the Radcliffe Square is symmetrical, the Library answering the Chapel, the entrance gate in the middle. Had the "Greek" design been followed the façade would have become asymmetrical. Asymmetry would have been "Gothic" in the eyes of the eighteenth-century spectator in England, symmetry was classic.

Hawksmoor had been reproached with the incorrect use of Gothic details and in particular of mixing various phases, above all of mixing Gothic and Norman.[37] But can he be blamed for mixing Norman and Gothic or phases of Gothic at a time when they were not differentiated?

Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor's close friend and collaborator, copied mediaeval castles. When charged with repairing Kimbolton Castle he wanted to give it "Something of the Castle Air, tho' at the Same time to make it regular, . . . for to have built a Front with Pilasters, and what the Orders require cou'd never have born with the Rest of the Castle."[38] This is a clear statement of conformity. Vanbrugh's other mediaevalizing houses cannot be explained so easily. One, the so-called "Bastille," was probably named and built in the castle style in reminiscence of the time he spent in the Paris Bastille as a prisoner. His other playfully fortified houses could be found imitating early Italian Renaissance houses, which may have been considered appropriate for the purpose in hand, rather than mediaeval ones; they may also have been influenced by the buildings of Claude's or Salvator Rosa's paintings.[39]

The rule of Wren and his school is followed by that of the Palladians. It seems curious that one of their members, the one closest to Burlington, William Kent, should have built in Gothic. Again, however, he did so only when adding to an existing building, as at Esher Lodge, where he enlarged Bishop Waynflete's Tower dating from the fifteenth century.[40] In Rousham he altered and enlarged a Jacobean house: The plan followed Palladian models, but the elevations conformed to the Jacobean motifs of the original house.[41] Kent was also responsible for the landscape garden at Rousham, which he studded with Gothic follies.[42]

Kent's other attempts at Gothic were designs for the King's Bench in Westminster Hall, for a pulpit intended

33. Wren, "Report," Appendix, p. 116.

34. Wren, "Report," Appendix, p. 118.

35. K. Downes, *Hawksmoor*, London, 1959, p. 215.

36. The history of the rebuilding of All Souls College has been told by Downes, *Hawksmoor*, pp. 132–147; drawings for the west front toward the Radcliffe Square are reproduced in H. A. Tipping and C. Hussey, *English Homes*, per. 4, II, London, 1928, p. xlviii. A drawing for All Souls with the caption "A Scetch shewing that ye College of All Souls may be rebuilt after ye Grecian Manner, keeping ye Old Gothic Chapell and Rebuilding ye Hall after ye Gothic" signed "N.H." and dated "1714" has been published by H. M. Colvin in his *Catalogue of Architectural Drawings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford*, Oxford, 1964. Designs for the south front—toward the High—are reproduced in Downes, *Hawksmoor*, pl. 41.

37. Downes, *Hawksmoor*, p. 147: "Its regularity and the pattern and the details of its components are not Gothic. On the other hand, the corbel-table . . . is almost pure Romanesque. Hawksmoor did not think like a mediaeval designer . . . his conception of Gothic included the style we know as Romanesque."

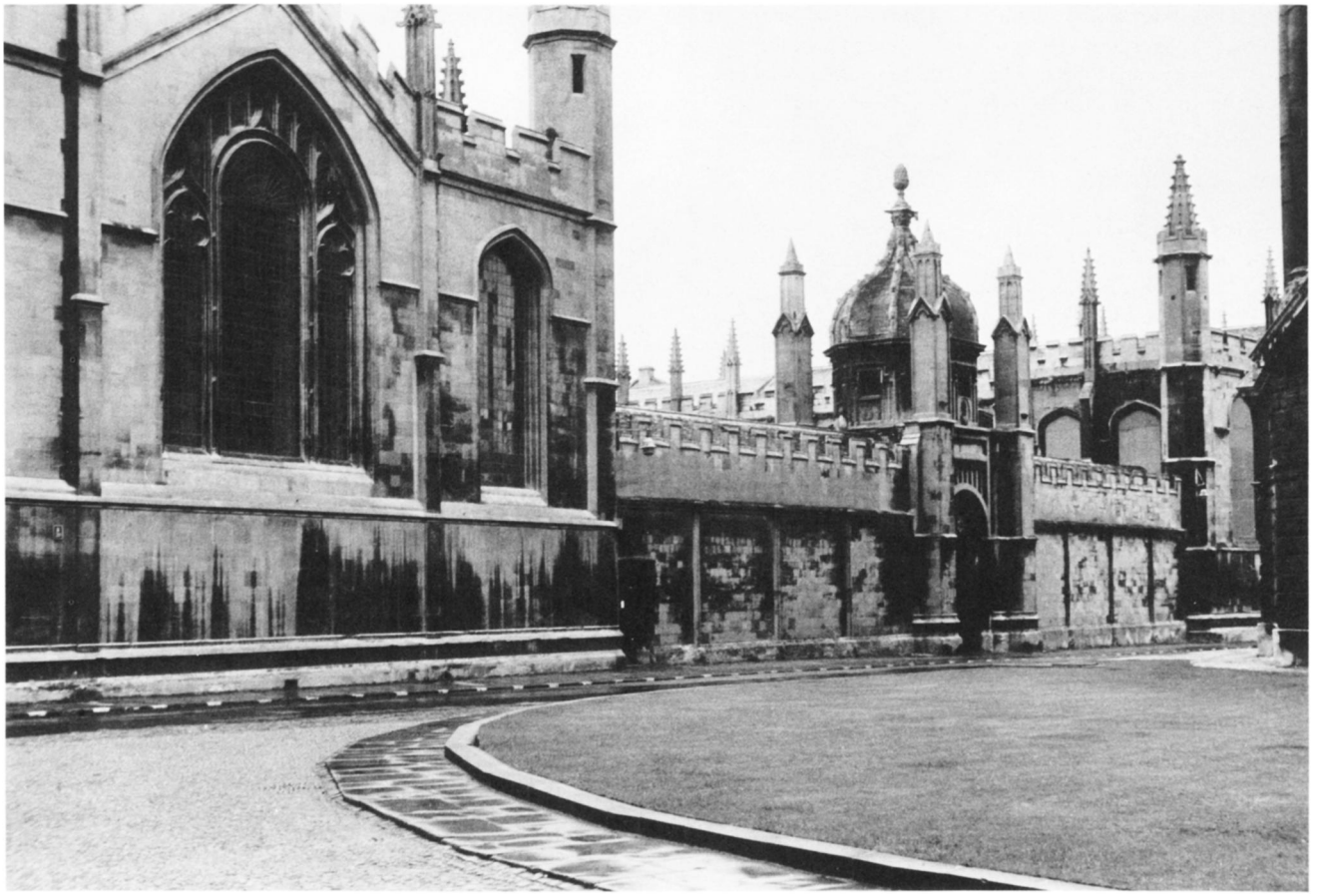
38. G. F. Webb, ed., *The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, IV, *The Letters*, London, 1928, p. 14, letter to the Earl of Manchester, 18 July 1707.

39. For a fuller discussion of this problem cf. S. Lang, "Vanbrugh's Theory and Hawksmoor's Buildings," *JSAH*, XXIV, 1965, pp. 135–140.

40. J. W. L. Forge, "Kentissime," *Architectural Review*, CVI, 1949, pp. 186–188.

41. M. Jourdain, *The Work of William Kent*, London, 1948, pp. 54–55; the dates of Kent's work at Rousham are 1738–1741.

42. Jourdain, *Kent*, figs. 112, 118, 119, 120. At Hampton Court Kent added to the existing Tudor interiors in Tudor; cf. N. Pevsner, "Good King James's Gothic," *Architectural Review*, CVII, 1950, p. 119.



Oxford, All Souls College, Screen and Library front by Hawksmoor (photo: Warburg Institute).

for York Cathedral, and for a screen to stand in Gloucester Cathedral.[43] In all these instances he tried to match the style of the buildings which were to house the objects. In all three cases his designs gave the general impression of Gothic; on closer inspection, however, it becomes evident that the actual Gothic motifs belong to a much later period than the buildings they were to match, and that Gothic was mixed with classical motifs.

In Kent's illustrations to Spenser's *Faerie Queen* the Sarazin's daughter lives most appropriately in a Gothic castle and so does the Giant; a Gothic tower and spire are attached to the Hermitage. Pride sits on an Italianate throne decorated with ogee arches and is surrounded by knights suitably attired and by ladies dressed in Elizabethan garments. The front of the House of Pride is built in a mixed style reminiscent of the Tudor style, while the cloisters in the background are pure Gothic: Everything and everybody is given the style which is appropriate.[44] It is like an echo of Alberti's *Della Pittura*: "Every thing therefore ought to agree in point of species. Moreover they shou'd correspond to each other as to colour also:—for everything must be made correspondent according to the dignity of the subject, and it wou'd be by no means decent to cloath a *Venus* or a *Minerva* in a patched coat like a beggar, or a *Jupiter* or a *Mars* in the habit of a woman."[45]

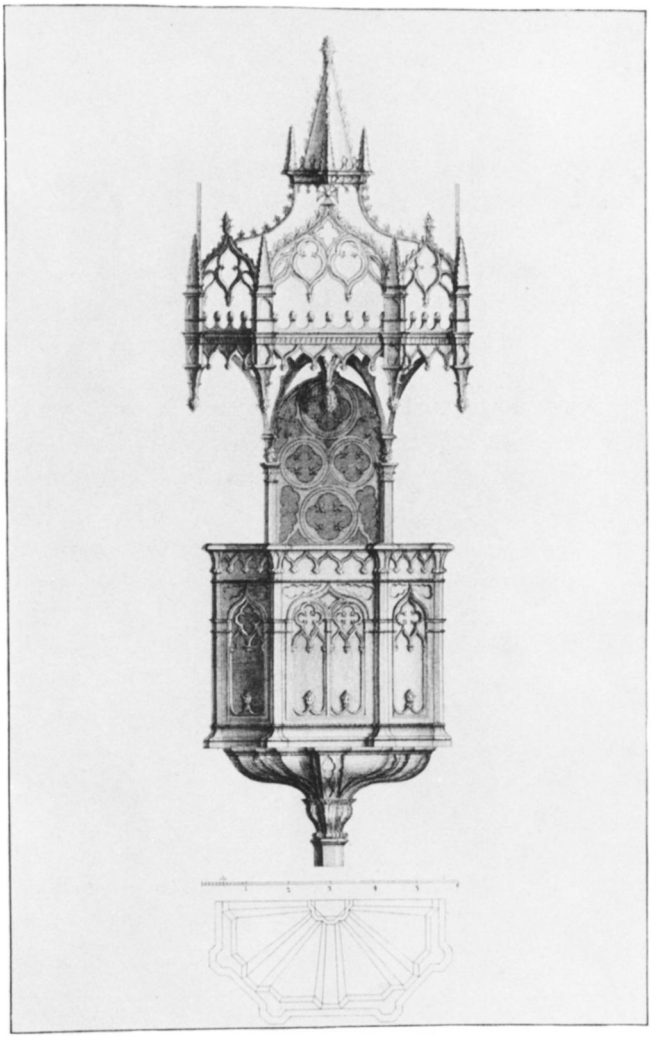
Antiquaries and Follies

While architects of the early eighteenth century went on

43. J. Vardy, *Some designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. William Kent*, n.p., 1744, pls. 48, 49, 51; to these must be added a design for Merlin's Cave in the Royal Gardens at Richmond, pl. 32; a garden house with vaguely ogee arches; and a candelabrum with some Gothic details, pl. 22.

44. E. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, London, 1751.

45. G. Leone, ed., *Della Pittura di L. B. Alberti, Italian and English*, London, 1726, III, p. 17. The relevant passage in the Italian original runs thus: "conciosiachè bisogna che il Tutto si corrisponda, secondo la dignità della Cosa: . . ."



York, Cathedral, pulpit by Kent (J. Vardy, *Some Designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. William* Kent, 1744).

building Gothic for reasons of their own, the interest in things mediaeval and English mediaeval architecture was kept alive by a body of enthusiastic antiquaries.[46] Antiquarian interest, as is well known, had started in England at a very early moment; the dissolution of monasteries had brought much destruction with it and possibly in reaction to this Leland planned a history of Britain in which architectural monuments were to be included. However, *De Antiquitate Britannica* was published by Thomas Hearne only in 1710–1712.[47] Camden's *Britannia*, first published in 1586, included a good deal of architecture, more than Leland would have done; after its publication, a number of interested people formed the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries.[48] Its term of reference was the exploration of England back to Roman times; indeed much antiquarian interest for some time to come was centered around Roman Britain at least as much as around mediaeval Britain. This search for Roman remains on British soil may well have helped convince Inigo Jones of the Roman derivation of Stonehenge, which was published as such by John Webb in 1655.

At the same time there developed considerable interest in church documents, frequently written in Anglo-Saxon, and hence an interest in the Anglo-Saxon language and grammar.[49] This concern with language and with legal and clerical documents led to an interest in mediaeval church history and eventually to the publication of the *Monasticum Anglicanum* with Hollar's illustrations; thus the English public could from 1655 on contemplate reproductions of English architecture, much of it Gothic, all of it mediaeval. No other country could boast a similar publication.

Anthony à Wood, the Oxford antiquary, was a friend of Dugdale and the first of those antiquaries who longed for the Middle Ages in a romantic mood. In 1657 he had visited Eynsham and "was there wonderfully strucken with a veneration of the stately, yet much lamented ruins of the abbey there, built before the Norman Conquest . . . [He] spent some time with a melancholy delight in taking a prospect of the ruins of that place . . . the place hath yet some ruins to shew, and to instruct the pensive beholder with an examplary frailty." This is indeed Gothic mood. Anthony à Wood also frequently visited a house "in a romancey place" but also noticed the wall paintings of Dorchester Abbey. Thus his attitude was not solely romantic but also properly antiquarian, and in 1693 he much regretted the going of the stained glass windows of Merton College: "the majestick light of the room was lost."[50]

But the antiquaries of that period were in no way all oriented toward Gothic: In 1736 Sir John Clerk complained to Roger Gale, "I am sorry to find that Gothicism prevails so much in your Society [of Antiquaries]. If your Antiquarians won't entertain a just opinion of it, they won't believe it to be only the degeneracy of Greek and Roman Arts and Sciences. In this view I myself have admired the laborious Dullness and Stupidity which appear in all the

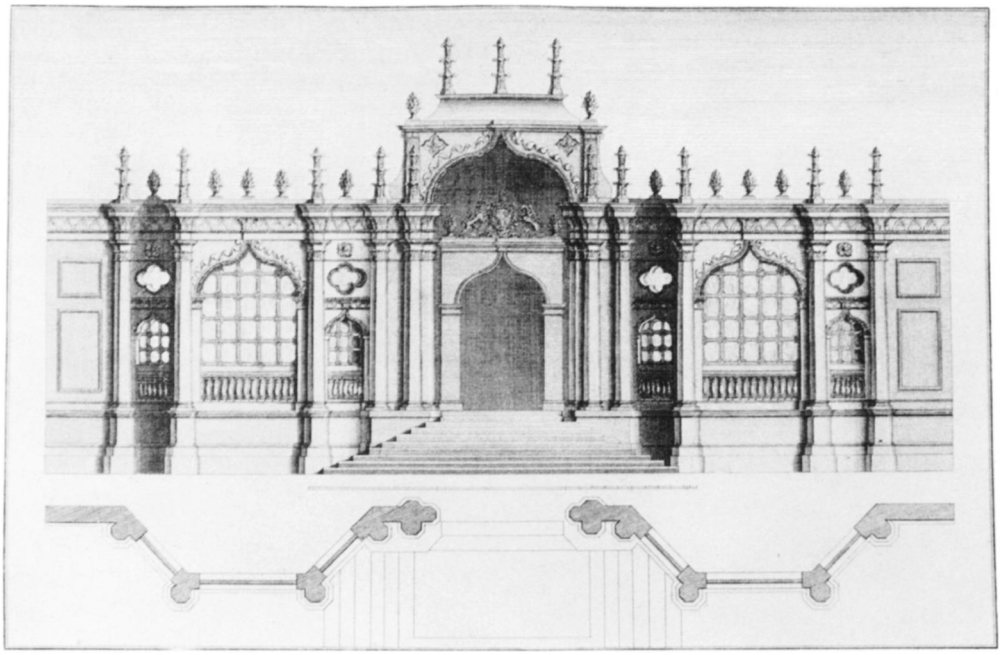
46. The story of antiquarianism has been told by T. Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, London, 1950. See also J. Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*, Oxford, 1956.

47. Evans, *History*, pp. 3–4.

48. Evans, *History*, p. 8.

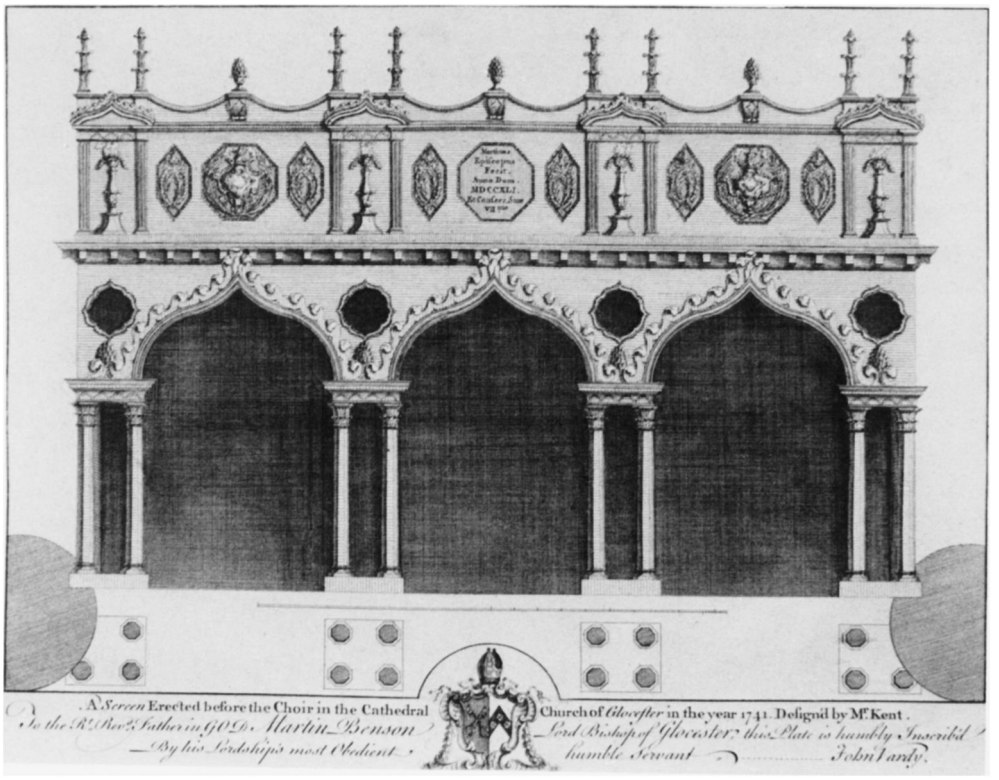
49. Evans, *History*, p. 28, quoting D. C. Douglas, *English Scholars*, London, 1939, p. 16.

50. B. S. Allen, *Tides in English Taste*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1937, II, pp. 48–50.



London, Westminster Hall, Court of King's Bench by Kent (J. Vardy, *Some Designs* . . ., 1744).

Gloucester, Cathedral, choir screen by Kent (J. Vardy, *Some Designs* . . ., 1744).


A Screen Erected before the Choir in the Cathedral
Church of Glocester in the year 1741. Delignd by Mr Kent.
To the Rt Revd Father in God Dr Martin Benson
Lord Bishop of Glocester this Plate is humbly Inscribd
By his Lordships most Obedient
humble Servant
John Vardy.

Gothick contrivances of any kind. These Barbarians had the originals in perfection and yet could discover no beauties for their imitation, but Goths will always have a Gothick taste."[51]

The most outstanding of all English antiquaries, William Stukeley, was apparently of two minds as to which direction to take. He collected mediaeval glass and made pilgrimages to Gothic churches, "I frequently took a walk to sigh over the Ruins of Barnwell Abbey, and made a Draught of it, and us'd to cut pieces of the Ew [sic] trees there into Tobacco Stoppers, lamenting the Destruction of so noble monuments of the Piety and Magnificance of our Ancestors."[52] He was the first secretary of the newly formed Society of Antiquaries, but also a member of the Society of Roman Knights and as such when outlining the Society's program he talked about the "abominable superstition of the cloyster'd nuns and fryers" who had destroyed the Roman heritage.[53]

He must, however, have made his peace with Gothic, if for no other reason than for conformity's sake: He designed a Temple of Flora for his own garden ("The work is gothic that suits the place best")[54] and to his fellow antiquary Gale he sent the following description. "The building is theatrical," inside there are "bustos" and other curiosities, the windows have stained glass rescued from the destruction in Stamford churches, and there is a cupola with a bell "which I ring every morning, a most agreeable exercise."[55]

Stukeley had been preceded in his journeys through England by James Browne,[56] who published his *Travels over England, Scotland and Wales* in 1700 and was followed by Defoe who made a *Tour Thro the Whole Island of Gt. Britain*. He speaks in glowing terms about Litchfield:[57]

> . . . the Cathedral-Church, one of the finest and most beautiful in *England*, especially for the Outside, the Form and Figure of the Building, the carv'd work'd, Imagery, and the three beautiful Spires; the like of which are not to be seen in one Church, no not in Europe.

But he talks also of the "Glory of Peterborough," its cathedral "which is truly fine and beautiful;" if it had a spire like new St. Paul's in London, it would be the finest church in England.[58] Lincoln cathedral does not have quite the same appeal. This

> Cathedral is in itself a very noble Structure, and is counted very fine, though I thought it not equal to some that I have already described, particularly not to that at *Litchfield* . . . The Building in general is very noble, and the Church itself is very large . . . so that it is much larger than that at *Litchfield*; but the Spires on the Towers at the Angles of the West End are mean, small and low, and not to be nam'd with those at *Litchfield* . . .[59]

The monumentality and grandeur of Lincoln were obviously lost on Defoe. The "Royal Chapel at Windsor," and "King's College Chapel at Cambridge" appear to Defoe as

> very gay Things, but neither of them can come up to the Minster of *York* on many Accounts . . . The only deficiency I find at *York* Minster, is the lowness of the great Tower, or its want of a fine Spire upon it . . .[60]

Defoe sums up his appreciation of York Minster thus: "In a word the Westend is a picture . . ."[61]

This antiquarian interest in England's past and the romantic feeling toward mediaeval remains seems to be at least partly responsible for the ruins and follies which made their appearance in English landscape gardens from the early eighteenth century onward.[62] The story of the landscape garden in England has often been told; suffice it here to repeat that its emergence was largely due to the influence of paintings by Claude, the Poussins, and Salvator Rosa.[63] In these paintings, particularly in those of Claude and Nicholas Poussin, ruins abound, whether for iconographical reasons or to indicate the passage of time; these ruins were mainly of classical buildings,[64] though crumbling mediaeval towers often add to the mood, particularly of Claude's pictures. For England Gothic or mediaeval ruins were, of course, more appropriate and also sometimes actually available.

The first to try to enhance a landscape garden by a ruin was Vanbrugh, who, when in 1709 engaged in building

51. S. Piggott, *William Stukeley*, Oxford, 1950, p. 56.
52. Piggott, *Stukeley*, p. 25.
53. Piggott, *Stukeley*, p. 55.
54. Piggott, *Stukeley*, p. 151.
55. Piggott, *Stukeley*, p. 152.
56. Allen, *Tides in English Taste*, II, p. 60.
57. D. Defoe, *A Tour Thro the Whole Island of Great Britain by a Gentleman*, London, 1724–1727, II, Letter III, p. 121.
58. Defoe, *Tour*, II, Letter III, p. 152.
59. Defoe, *Tour*, II, Letter III, pp. 138–139.
60. Defoe, *Tour*, III, Letter II, p. 156.
61. Defoe, *Tour*, III, Letter II, p. 157.
62. Clark assumes a literary influence, and attributes the appearance of ruins to the poets and to the Gothic mood in literature (*Gothic Revival*, chap. II and *passim*). It seems, however, to be questionable whether Gothic mood in literature can, even terminologically, be equated with Gothic as an architectual style. (Cf. C. F. McIntyre, "Were the 'Gothic Novels' Gothic?", *PMLA*, XXXVI, 1921, pp. 644–667, especially pp. 666–667.)
63. E. M. Manwaring, *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England*, New York, 1925, *passim*.
64. Batty Langley in his *New Principles of Gardening*, London, 1728, p. xv, suggests ruins to terminate "Walks that end in *disagreeable Objects*; which *Ruins* may either be *painted upon Canvas*, or actually built in that Manner with *Brick*, and *cover'd with Plaistering* in Imitation of Stone." Langley also supplies a few prototypes of such ruins, all in the Italianate manner (pls. XIX–XXI).

Blenheim Palace, pleaded for the retention of the remains of the mediaeval Woodstock Manor.[65] He felt that a building so rich in historical association should be preserved for posterity and envisaged that it would become a delightful piece of garden furniture.

The first mediaeval "ruin" actually built in England was, it seems, "King Alfred's Tower" erected from an old woodcabin by the first Earl of Bathurst in 1721. The earl may have been inspired in building such a tower by an imaginary connection between Oakley Park, Cirencester, where it was situated, and King Alfred. The old name of Oakley, "Achileia," had been identified with the Aegleali from Asser's *Life of Alfred* and thus an association of Oakley Park with Alfred seemed established and to erect a memorial in the King's honor more than justified. The earl had succeeded so well that an antiquary believed the "ruin" to be genuine. Later on the earl built more Gothic, possibly after 1740.[66]

Sanderson Miller was perhaps the most prolific builder of ruins and although an amateur got many commissions from his friends and acquaintances. One of them, Lord Dacre, wrote to him about 1747–1748: "Your fame in Architecture grows greater and greater every day, and I hear of nothing else. If you have a mind to set up, you'll soon eclipse Mr. Kent, especially in the Gothick way, in which to my mind he succeeds very ill."[67] Whether Miller succeeded any better is open to doubt. The first Gothic piece he built was a tower and a ruin in his own grounds at Edgehill, to which he added a Gothic cottage very soon afterwards; in between he carried out alterations in Gothic at his house, Radway Grange.[68]

The most famous amongst Sanderson Miller's commissions for Gothic ruins was the one he built in 1747–1748 for Thomas Littleton in Hagley Park.[69] It was greatly admired by Horace Walpole.[70] He also built there a "Gothic Rotunda" in 1749–1750 and a church in 1752–1754.[71] William Pitt persuaded Miller to provide him with a design for "a very considerable Gothick Object which is to stand in a very fine situation on the hills near Bath" in the grounds of Mr. Allen.[72] This object is still there, as also one at Wimpole, which Chancellor Hardwick had asked Miller to design. It was to represent "mearly the walls and semblance of an old castle to make an object from the house."[73]

As Lord Dacre had indicated in his letter, Sanderson Miller's fame grew apace and in 1754–1755 he built Lacock Abbey, including the remains of the mediaeval abbey and adding substantially, particularly the large hall.

There were other ruin-building "Gothic" lords and gentlemen, all of them amateurs[74]—as were of course also many of the designers of landscape gardens—but an enumeration of their activities would not substantially change the picture.

The most brilliant star amongst the galaxy of follies built by noble amateurs was Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill.[75] Walpole began Strawberry in 1748, and a year later he first mentioned "Gothic," but he seemed to have had Gothic in mind for some time; on 28 September 1749 he wrote to Montague: "Did I tell you that I have found a text in Deuteronomy to authorize my future battlements? *When thou buildest a new house, then shalt thou make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thy house if any man fall from there.*"[76] So it was to be a castle early on, but not until nearly three years later do the first signs of Gothic appear on the house.[77] Walpole has given no direct indication why he chose to build a Gothic castle, but it is just possible that he did so in order to make up for the Walpoles' lack of an ancestral castle. Possibly, also, his reasons were patriotic; he may have considered indigenous Gothic more appropriate—he talks about "our architecture"—particularly since he only intended to build a toy castle or cottage, not a mansion. "The Grecian," he wrote to Horace Mann in 1750, "is only proper for magnificent and public buildings. Columns and all their beautiful ornaments look ridiculous when crowded into a closet or a cheesecake-house. The variety is little, and admits no charming irregularities . . ."[78]

But Walpole's attitude towards Gothic remained ambiguous practically throughout his life, and in spite of his delight in Gothic, Grecian was for him the better mode: "The pointed arch, that peculiar of Gothic architecture, was

65. Vanbrugh, *Letters*, p. 29, "Reasons Offer'd for Preserving some Part of the old Manor."

66. J. Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation*, London, 1962, pp. 45–46, 53–54, relates the story in detail.

67. L. Dickins and M. Stanton, eds., *An Eighteenth-Century Correspondence*, London, 1910, p. 275.

68. H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660–1840*, London, 1954, *s.v.* Miller.

69. Dickins and Stanton, *Correspondence*, p. 271.

70. Toynbee, III, p. 186, Walpole to Bentley, September 1753.

71. Colvin, *Dictionary*, *s.v.* Miller.

72. C. Hussey, *The Picturesque*, London, 1927, p. 197.

73. Hussey, *Picturesque*, p. 197.

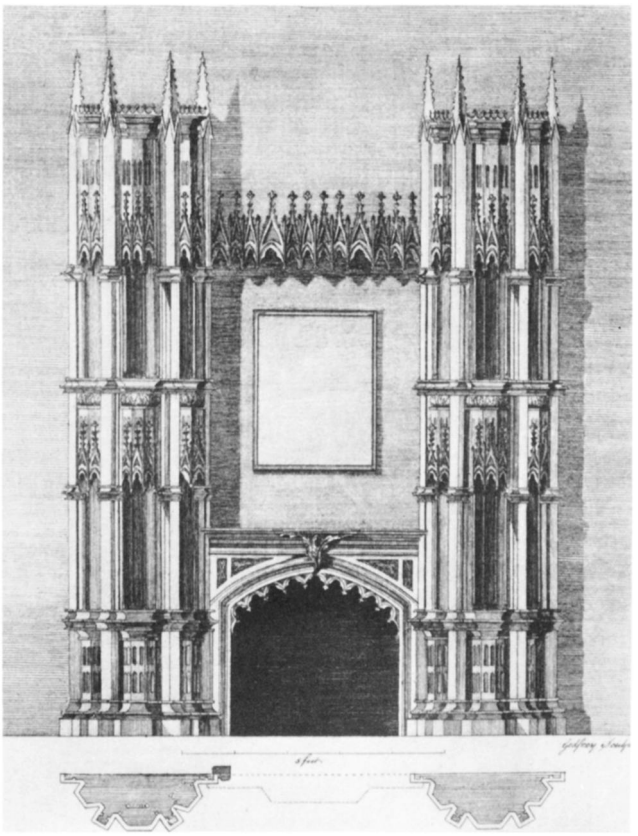
74. The phrase, "Mr. Miller and the rest of the Gothic Gentlemen," appears in a letter of Lady Luxborough to Shenstone, 28 January 1750. H. Knight Baroness Luxborough, *Letters . . . to W. Shenstone*, J. Hodgetts, ed., London, 1775, p. 233.

75. The story of Strawberry Hill has been told by W. S. Lewis, "The Genesis of Strawberry Hill," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, 1934–1936.

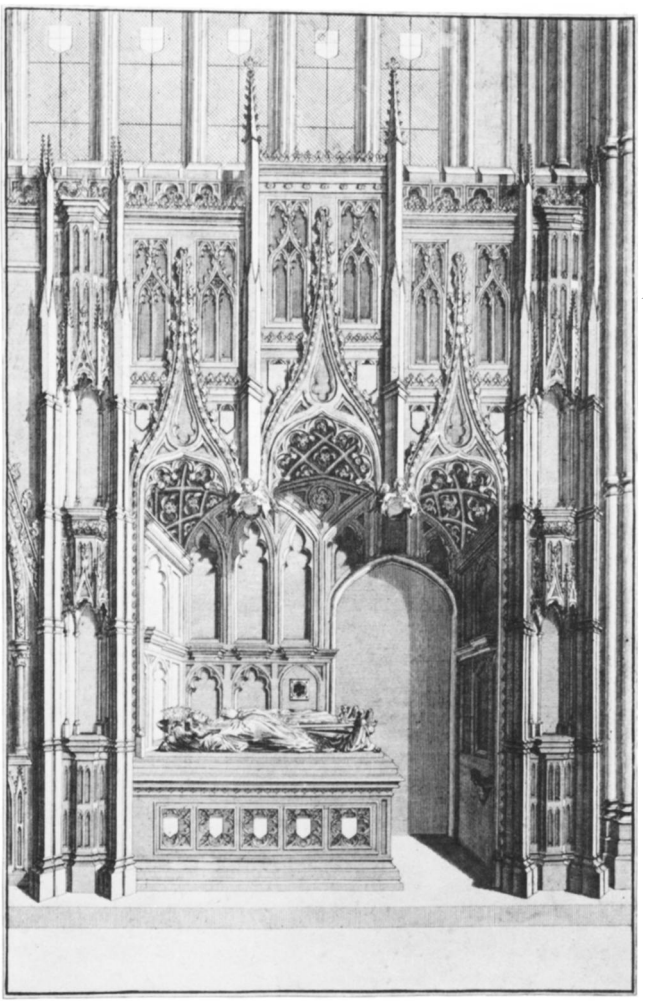
76. Toynbee, II, p. 412, Walpole to Montague, 28 September 1748.

77. Lewis, "Strawberry Hill," p. 62.

78. Toynbee, II, p. 433, Walpole to Mann, 25 February 1750.



Strawberry Hill, Holbein Chamber, chimney piece (*The Description of Strawberry Hill*, 1784).



Canterbury, Cathedral, Tomb of Bishop Warham, J. Dart, 1726.

certainly intended as an improvement on the circular, and the men who had not the happiness of lighting on the simplicity and proportion of the Greek orders, were however so lucky as to strike out a thousand graces and effects which rendered their buildings magnificent yet genteel, vast, yet light, venerable and picturesque. It is difficult for the noblest Grecian temple to convey half so many impressions to the mind as a cathedral does of the best Gothic taste . . . One must have taste to be sensible of the beauties of Grecian architecture; one only wants passion to feel Gothic."[79]

Talking later of the great impression a Gothic cathedral makes, Walpole says: "Gothic churches infuse superstition —Grecian admiration" and adds: "The papal see amassed its wealth by Gothic cathedrals, and displays it in Grecian temples." And then he adds rather apologetically:

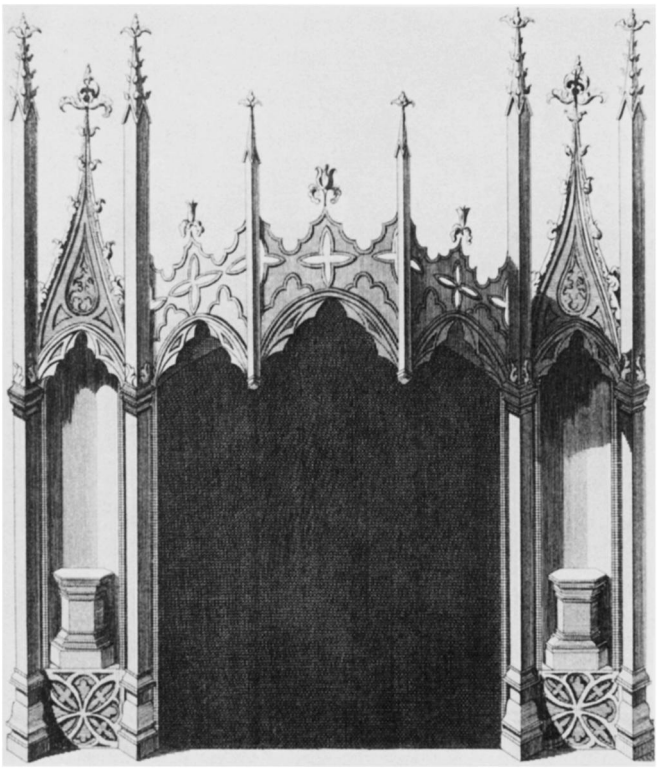
> I certainly do not mean by this little contrast to make any comparison between the rational beauties of regular architecture, and the unrestrained licentiousness of that which is called Gothic. Yet I am clear that the persons who executed the latter, had much more knowledge of their art, more taste, more genius, and more propriety than we chose to imagine. There is a magic hardness in the execution of some of their works which would not have sustained themselves if dictated by mere caprice.[80]

When he wrote to John Chute from Stowe in 1753, Walpole still had not made up his mind: "The Grecian temple is glorious: this I openly worship: in the heretical corner of my heart I adore the Gothic building which by some unusual inspiration Gibbs has made pure and beautiful and venerable. The style has a propensity to the Venetian or mosque Gothic, and the great column near it makes the whole put one in mind of the Place of St. Mark."[81] A few

79. H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, J. Dallaway, ed., I, London, 1826–1828, pp. 194–200.

80. Walpole, *Anecdotes*, pp. 200–202.

81. Toynbee, III, p. 181, Walpole to Chute, 4 August 1753.



Strawberry Hill, Great Parlor, chimney piece (*The Description of Strawberry Hill*, 1784).

years later, in 1759, he wrote to the Rev. Henry Zouch: "It is the history of our architecture that I should search after, especially the beautiful Gothic."[82]

Here Walpole's patriotic attitude comes out into the open, but it is clear that by now, at the moment when most of Strawberry had been built and much research into Gothic had been made by the Committee of Taste, Walpole found Gothic to be beautiful. He now was also appreciating it aesthetically. This seems to be the first moment in the history of the Gothic Revival when that had happened. Although finally influenced by patriotism, Walpole seems to have been the first Gothic revivalist who deliberately chose Gothic after considering other styles. "I am almost as fond of *Sharawaggi* or Chinese want of symmetry, in buildings, as in grounds or gardens."[83]

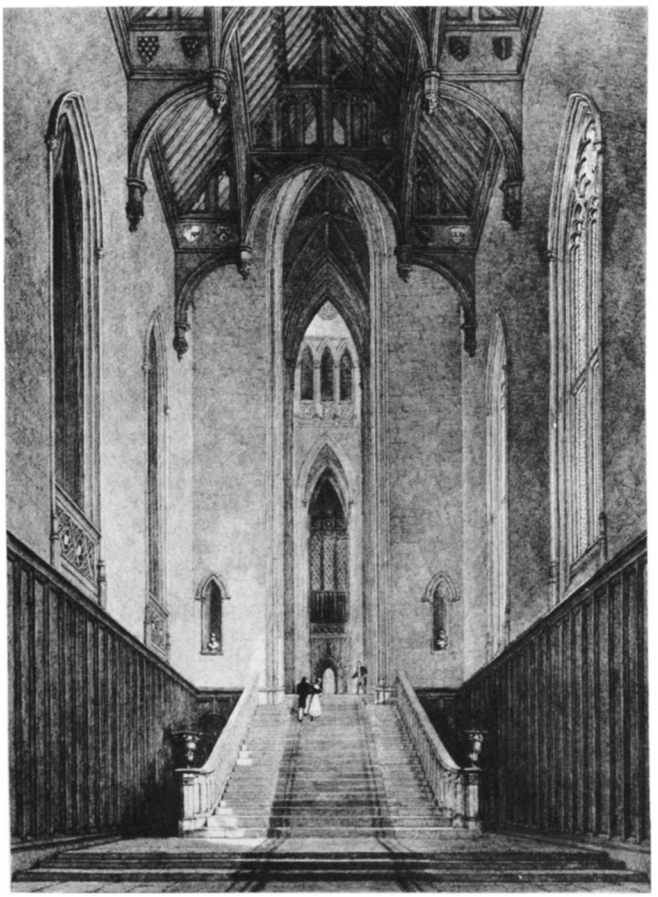
Walpole had actually hesitated between several styles and in particular considered Chinese, possibly for its asymmetrical properties. But Gothic won the day.[84] Thus in R. Bernheimer's terms Walpole was the first revivalist proper, though he, like the Bolognese stage designers, was swayed by reasons of propriety. The Committee of Taste, Walpole, Bentley, and Chute, attacked their task in the proper spirit of archaeology; not for them the fanciful designs of William Kent, their Gothic was to be real Gothic. They looked through prints and books more than at actual buildings, and helped themselves freely to whatever took their fancy and what they thought would fit in well. Tombs were turned into fireplaces, façades of cathedrals became wall decorations, the vault of the Henry VII Chapel was echoed in the Gallery.[85]

Toward the end of his life Walpole seems to have realized that in spite of all his endeavours, his Gothic was false. In 1794 he wrote that every true Goth must perceive that "they [the rooms at Strawberry] are more the work of fancy than of imitation."[86] Walpole may have come to realize his shortcomings through the influence of James Essex. Essex, his near contemporary, had a much better understanding of Gothic than any other "Goth" of the eighteenth century.[87]

Walpole was the last amateur who designed a Gothic folly himself. His friend Thomas Barrett commissioned a professional architect to build his: Lee Priory, "a child of Strawberry, prettier than its parent,"[88] was built by James Wyatt.[89] The professional now took over, but it seems that still for a time to come Gothic was only built at the behest of a patron. Wyatt followed Lee Priory with Fonthill, which actually was a folly of timber and cement before it was built in stone.[90] While Lee Priory largely followed Strawberry, though it was not so imaginative and varied, Fonthill rose to different heights in more senses than one.

Wyatt went to cathedrals not just for details, but also for proportions. There is no proof that he or any other architect or patron was aware of the fact that for the type of house they intended to build no prototype in Gothic existed; most amateurs who had gothicised their houses just added battlements and pointed windows. Wyatt imitated, particularly in Fonthill, the height, the towers, the vaults, and the scale of cathedrals.

82. Toynbee, IV, p. 251, 15 March 1759.
83. Toynbee, II, p. 433, Walpole to Mann, 25 February 1750.
84. W. S. Lewis, *Horace Walpole* (The Bollingen Series, XXXV), New York, 1960–1961, p. 102.
85. "Prince Arthur's tomb from whence we took the paper for the hall and staircase . . ." Walpole to Bentley, September 1753, in Toynbee, III, p. 187. Cf. Lewis, "Strawberry Hill," p. 66.
86. Toynbee, XV, p. 237, Walpole to Mary Berry, 17 October 1794.
87. On Essex, see note 102.
88. Toynbee, XV, p. 309, Walpole to Mary Berry, 28 September 1794.
89. A. Dale, *James Wyatt*, Oxford, 1956, p. 132.
90. For the history of Fonthill, cf. Dale, *Wyatt*, pp. 144–158 and Clark, *Revival*, pp. 116–119.



Fonthill, Great Western Hall, by Wyatt (J. Rutter, *Fonthill and Its Abbey*, 1823).

Ashridge, by Wyatt (photo: N.B.R.).

Ashridge, a palatial mansion built for the Earl of Bridgewater,[91] was symmetrical and has something of the air of a classical palace—"Georgian bodies dressed up in Plantagenet clothes"—though inside we find again the Henry VII Chapel, apparently a great favorite of the Gothic architects of the period. The reason for choosing Gothic was probably an earlier monastic building on the site. Wyatt remodelled Belvoir Castle for the Duke of Rutland in Gothic or, better, in a mediaeval style, since the "Norman" keep was to recall the Norman donjon.[92] Still in his lifetime Wyatt was acclaimed as having "revived in this country the long forgotten beauties of Gothic architecture."[93]

To sum up, while ruin-building as such may have been due to nostalgia for remote periods, to a feeling of time passing or similar sentiments, and while follies were built to enhance the landscape garden, the reason why Gothic was chosen over Grecian was that it seemed the more appropriate style. As the Italians of the Renaissance looked back to Rome, so the "Gothic Gentlemen" set out to build for themselves structures in keeping with their own history.[94]

Walpole's early statements on Gothic indicate that he considered Grecian the better style, though less so than Wren, and used Gothic only *faute de mieux*, when he felt he should do so. Walpole suggests this was still the general feeling at that time.

But with Walpole the history of the Gothic Revival reached a turning point: conformity and propriety had been the principal motivation for building Gothic, but this use of classical theory was naive rather than deliberate.

91. Dale, *Wyatt*, pp. 166–167.

92. *Country Life*, CXX, 1956, p. 1405.

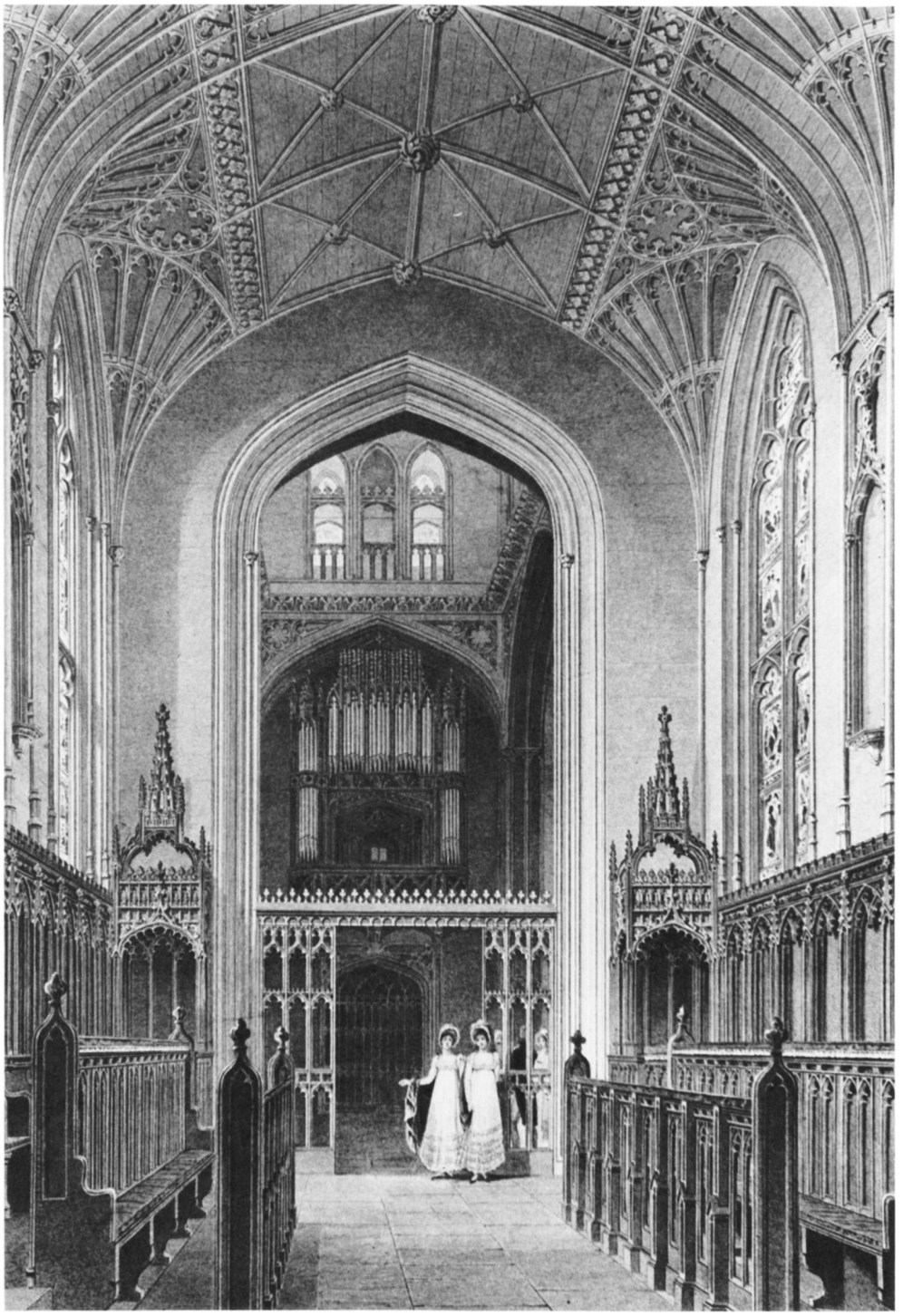
93. Colvin, *Dictionary*, p. 724. As a church restorer Wyatt was a pure classicist in the sense that he believed in purity of style and tried to clear the cathedrals, which he restored, from all later monuments and encumbrances.

94. The changing conception of nature and the reception of Gothic in the eighteenth century has been fully discussed by A. O. Lovejoy, "The first Gothic Revival and the Return to Nature," first published in *Modern Language Notes*, XXVII, 1932, reprinted in *Essays in the History of Ideas*, New York, 1960, pp. 136–165.

From now on, however, Gothic had, as it were, to justify itself by being only another emanation of classical theory. Essex, Repton, Willson, and Pugin himself may not have accepted Gothic as ardently as they did, had it not been for the fact that they all succeeded in finding a basis in classicistic theory for Gothic. For Pugin, as we will see, Gothic was the purer expression of such theories than the classical revival.

Toward a Theory

In 1741, a few years before Walpole devised Strawberry Hill and a few years after William Kent had designed his



Ashridge, the chapel, by Wyatt.

Gothic church furniture, Batty and Thomas Langley published their *Ancient Architecture Restored, and Improved, by a Great Variety of Grand and useful Designs, entirely New in the Gothick Mode for the Ornamenting of Buildings and Gardens Exceeding every Thing that's Extant.* A year later a new edition came out under the title *Gothic Architecture Improved by Rules and Proportions . . .*

In the Preface to the 1742 edition Batty Langley defines his aims:

> And as these modes of building [the Gothic] have been and are condemned by many, on a supposition that their principal parts have been put together without rules or proportion; to prove that such is a want of judgement, I have, in plates A and B, as a specimen of the beautiful rules of the Ancients, illustrated the Geometrical Plans and Elevations of the Bases and Capitals, to the two varieties of columns, now standing in Westminster Abbey . . .[95]

Langley then talks about the various proportions of columns in St. Paul's and continues: "It is from these, and such like researches, that I have extracted the rules and proportions by which all the parts of the following designs are adjusted . . ."[96]

He then goes on to exhort future patrons to build Gothic, which is a better style than the Grecian mode and cheaper, too. Above all Langley insists that "their members [the columns in the choir of Westminster Abbey] both as to their height and projectures, are determined and described with those beautiful proportions and geometrical rules, which are not excelled (if equalled) in any parts of the Grecian or Roman orders."[97]

His book contains, in addition to the five Gothic "Orders" architectural details, garden furniture such as umbrellas and seats, doors, chimney pieces, colonnades and temples, either in "pure" Gothic or in a style mixing Gothic and Grecian.

Batty Langley was not the first in the field: Gothic had been considered as just another order by Terribilia, one of the architects of San Petronio in Bologna; Pelligrini, another architect, called in to deal with the problem of the façade, in 1582 also talks of the "ordine Tedesco." Vignola, too, whose treatise on the orders provided the pattern for Langley, discussed Gothic in terms of the orders. However, Langley cannot have known any of these definitions, since they were made in letters or reports not then accessible.[98]

The idea that Gothic was an order appears also in de Cordemoy's treatise,[99] which was by then certainly known in England, but above all in Grelot's *Voyage en Constantinople* of 1680; this work existed in an English translation and appears to have been much read.[100]

Some critics have assumed that Langley invented the Five Gothic Orders to create order out of chaos; in fact he prides himself to have discovered:

> *Many of the Rules, by which its principal Parts are proportioned and adorned, whose Results command the Admiration and Attention of all Beholders;* And as, by great Variety of Examples, I have illustrated their Uses, in the Formation, and Ornamenting of Private Buildings, in the same Mode, which never was done, or attempted before; and as such may justly be esteemed an Improvement in the *Noble Art of Building*; and consequently will be an Advantage to this and after Ages . . .[101]

Langley was the first, then, who attempted to make Gothic respectable by trying to find rules and proportions for it. It is true that the attraction of Gothic for the "Gothic Gentlemen" was just the lack of rules and symmetry, but they were amateurs and built follies. The professional, concerned with the serious business of architecture, never stopped feeling the need for rules and just proportions. Indeed, Gothic proper had not been devoid of them; its asymmetry was the exception, and mostly accidental. A man like James Essex, who found out much about Gothic and who was the first architect and historian to have a true understanding of Gothic, may have been aware of that. But even he talks about the orders:

> . . . for whatever pretentions our moderns may have to their knowledge of ye Antique and for which they are beholden to the Learned Vitruvius who first taught ym to destinguish [sic] one Greek order from another, they are so far from destinguishing

95. B. and Th. Langley, *Gothic Architecture Improved by Rules and Proportions . . . to which is added an Historical Dissertation on Gothic architecture*, London, 1742; Preface, p. 6. There is no letterpress in the first edition, which is otherwise identical with the second, nor in the third, which came out in 1747; the title of the third edition is that of the second. In 1751 B. Langley published *The Builder's Director or Bench-mate being a Pocket-Treasury of the Grecian, Roman, and Gothic Order*, London, 1751; the preface has the date 1746. On p. vii Langley makes this statement: "In the last Part of this work I have given a great Variety of *Gothick* Moldings for the *Bases* and Capitals of *Columns, Arches, Weatherings, Jaumbs* for Doors, Windows, Chimney-Pieces, etc."

96. Langley, *Gothic Architecture . . . Historical Dissertation*, p. 7.

97. Langley, *Gothic Architecture . . . Historical Dissertation*, pp. 6–7.

98. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, pp. 204–205.

99. J. L. de Cordemoy, *Nouveau traité de toute l'architecture*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1714, p. 241. "Ordre Gothique . . ." The whole problem of Gothic and Grecian in France in the eighteenth century has been fully discussed by R. D. Middleton, "The Abbé de Cordemoy and the Graeco-Gothic Ideal: A Prelude to Romantic Classicism," *JWCI*, XXV, XXVI, 1962, 1963. The situation in England was entirely different, yet an echo may have reached there.

100. J. Grelot, *A Late Voyage to Constantinople*, London, 1683, p. 95. On Grelot in England cf. S. Lang, "By 'Hawksmoor out of Gibbs'," *Architectural Review*, CV, 1949.

101. This passage is part of the "Dedication to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster" from B. and Th. Langley, *Ancient Architecture, Restored, and Improved by a Great Variety of Grand and Useful Designs, Entirely New in the Gothick Mode for the Ornamenting of Buildings and Gardens.* (Unpublished MS, photostat copy in Library of RIBA, London.)

[sic] the different orders of Gothick architecture from each other, that it was but very latly [sic] that the Learned in Antiquitys not curious [?] in Architects [corrected from Architecture] have descovered [sic] that Gothick Architecture has its several Orders, though these Gentlemen have not been able to examine them by architectonical Rules.[102]

Elsewhere Essex enlarges on the Gothic orders and makes claims for Gothic regularity which no one else has made:

For Gothic Architecture like the Grecian has its different Orders or Modes, and every Order its peculiar members by which it may be destinguished [sic] from the rest, and as these are regulated by just proportions founded upon Geometrical principles, as capable of demonstration as those of the Greek or Roman, we may judge of the whole from a part with as much certainty as we may know the bigness of a Roman Temple from the length of a Trigliph (Vitr. 1, 2).[103]

For Essex, Gothic and classical were really one:

In Every stile [sic] or Order of Architecture whether be Greek Roman or Gothick the principal views of the Architects were the same, they all intend to make their buildings convenient strong and handsome though they not all pursued the same method.[104]

Essex was obviously a Gothic classicist. For him a style had to be pure, not mixed:

A variety of fantastical figures were invented, in which the Grecian and Gothic ornaments were often absurdly mixed together.[105]

He was also the first Gothicist to complain about the lack of architectural principles in the work of the revivalists:

If the Antique Architecture is little understood the Gothick (which succeeded it but has been long disused till of late) is much less known and the general practice of composing from fragments rather than from well established principals [sic] is one reason why so little progress has hitherto been made in that Stile [sic] of Architecture . . .[106]

This may have been written in 1769.[107] There is no indication whether Essex, an experienced architect, who was concerned with the restoration of many a genuine Gothic church, became aware of such principles in the course of his work or whether he knew about them from having read theoretical treatises.

The treatise which immediately preceded Essex' notes and had made quite a stir in Europe—it was translated into German and English soon after publication—was Laugier's *Essai*, in the English title of which, principles are already mentioned. Laugier has this to say:

Every art, all sciences have a determined object. To arrive at this object, all the paths cannot be equally good, there is but one that leads directly to the end, and it is that road only that we ought to be acquainted with. In all things there is but one manner of doing well. What then is this art? but that established manner upon evident principles, and applied to the object by invariable principles.[108]

Essex could also have read another favorite of his time, Algarotti, who in reporting the ideas of Lodoli says in the dedication of his *Saggi* of 1756:

E come è della natura sua ricercare addentro le ragioni prime e investire i principj delle cose.[109]

Frézier had said in his monumental work on vaulting:

Au milieu de cette varieté des goûts et d'opinions, ne sera-t'il pas permis d'établir quelques principes, dont les hommes raisonables puissent convenir, et n'y auroit-il pas une Architecture naturelle indépendante du caprice des Dessinateurs?[110]

102. London, British Museum, James Essex, Add. MS 6771, f. 34v. Essex left copious notes, in part intended for a history of architecture (see note 87). These notes are for the most part undated. D. R. Stewart, "James Essex," *Architectural Review*, CVIII, 1950, has first drawn attention to this material and discussed it in some detail. Cf. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *s.v.* Essex. Essex divided Gothic architecture into five periods, mainly following the reigns of kings: Specimens of "Gothic Architecture as derived from the Roman and used in England before and after the Conquest to the introduction of pointed Arches (and antiently called the Roman manner)." This period lasted 370 years. The second period of 130 years was that of the "antient Gothic derived from the Roman maner [sic] and perfected in the time of Henry 3rd." The third period lasting 150 years shows the "Changes made after the time of Henry 3rd with the introduction and various forms of tracery used to the time of Henry 4th." The fourth period of 100 years shows the "modern Gothic as perfected from the time of Henry 4th to Henry 7th." The fifth period of fifty years is that of the "Decline under Henry 8th, on the introduction of the Greek and Roman in the following Reigns." (Add. MS 6771, f. 203.) Essex shows himself (Add. MS 6765, f. 72r.) particularly well orientated about early Christian, in the East and the West, and distinguishes the Greek from the Latin cross, an observation which he may have derived from de Cordemoy's "Dissertation sur la maniere dont les Eglises doivent être bâtie," reprinted from the *Mémoires des Trevoux* in the 2nd edition of the *Nouveau traité* of 1714. The plan of Hagia Sophia, which Essex includes, he derived probably from Grelot (fig. V), whom he quotes in Add. MS 6770, f. 6r.

103. Essex, Add. MS 6761, ff. 70r, 71r.

104. *Ibid.*, 6771, f. 34r.

105. *Ibid.*, 6761, f. 69r.

106. *Ibid.*, 6771, f. 34v.

107. From the context of this note one can arrive at this date.

108. M. A. Laugier's *Essai sur l'Architecture* was first published anonymously in 1753. Two years later a signed, corrected, and much enlarged edition came out. The English translation, *An Essay on Architecture in which its true Principles are explained and invariable Rules proposed*, London, 1755, is of the first edition. The passage quoted is from the English edition, p. ix.

109. F. Algarotti, *Saggi sopra l'architettura* in *Opere*, II, Livorno, 1764, pp. 51–52, dedication to Count Malvasia. Algarotti was a pupil of Lodoli and as such transmitted his master's thought—who had left no written works. Lodoli's ideas were also written down by A. Memmo, *Elementi d'architettura Lodoliana, ossia l'arte del fabbricare con solidità scientifica e con eleganza non cappriciosa*, Zadar, 1833, 1834.

110. A. F. Frézier, *La théorie et la pratique de la coupe des pierres et des bois pour la construction des voûtes*, III, Strasbourg, Paris, 1737–1739,

This author is indeed a likely source for Essex, who was not only concerned with general principles, but also with more specific ones:

. . . But by what Principles of Architecture these masses are supported and by what contrivance they are made strong while they appear so light and airey is not easily conceived, nor can well be understood but by . . . a critical examination of their mechanical construction.[111]

There was not a better place to find out about "mechanical construction" than Frézier's treatise.[112] Essex could there, as also in Laugier's Preface, have read about de Cordemoy and it was most likely he who supplied him with information about early Christian architecture, which figures prominently in Essex' manuscripts.

Apart from these somewhat hypothetical sources there is some more tangible proof for Essex' acquaintance with architectural writings: He not only quotes Vitruvius,[113] but also de l'Orme and "Mons. Blondel."[114]

Essex achieved little. His history of Gothic architecture was never finished, let alone published, and his architectural activity was restricted mainly to restoration work, but he was the first revivalist in England who felt that a theoretical foundation was desirable. Yet he hardly supplied one. To do so in some measure was left to a younger architect and writer, Humphrey Repton.

Rather unexpectedly, Humphrey Repton, best known as a landscape gardener, turns out to have been interested in architectural theory. He had added to his *Observations on The Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, of 1803, "Some Remarks on Grecian and Gothic Architecture." In these he asserted that the leading principles of all Gothic buildings were these:

1. The *Uses* of a building were considered before its *Ornament.*
2. The ornaments prevailed most where they would be most conspicuous.
3. The several principal parts of the building were marked by some conspicuous and distinguishing character.
4. Some degree of symmetry, or correspondence of parts, was preserved, without actually confining the design to such regularity as involved unnecessary buildings.
5. This degree of irregularity seems often to have been studied in order to produce increased grandeur by an intricacy and variety of parts. A perfect correspondence of two sides assists the mind in grasping the whole of a design on viewing only one-half; it therefore, in fact, lessens the apparent magnitude, while the difficulty with which dissimilar parts are viewed at once, increases the apparent dimensions, provided the eye be not distracted by too much variety.[115]

When one considers Repton's amplifications of these principles one finds them a little humdrum and one cannot but suspect that he took over existing ideas without being able to evaluate them fully. What Repton has to say in point 3 he may have found out from his practical experience. Points 4 and 5 on symmetry, irregularity, and variety run like a continuous thread through so much of the architectural literature that anybody doing only a little reading would have come across them. Point 2 is more interesting and Repton may have derived it from Algarotti's letter to Temanza:

. . . cosi gli ornamenti nell'Architettura hanno da abellire la fabbrica, e mostrare insieme le parti essenzali, la ossatura di essa.[116]

The most interesting point is the first one. Repton may again have drawn on Algarotti:

La buona maniera del fabbricare, si sa egli a dire, ha da formare, ornare, e mostrare. Tali paroli interpretate da lui medesimo suonano nel volgar nostro, che niente ha da vedersi in una fabbrica, che non abbia il proprio suo uffizio, e non sia parte integrante della fabbrica stessa, che dal necessario ha da risultare onninamente l'ornato, e non altro che affettazione e falsità sara tutto quello che introduranno nelle opere loro gli architetti di la dal fine, a cui nello edificare è veramente ordinato che che sia.[117]

He might have read a similar statement in Milizia:

In Architettura dunque l'Ornato deve risultare dal necessario; niente ha da vedersi in una fabbrica, che non abbia il suo proprio Uffizio, e che non sia integrante della fabbrica stessa; onde quanto è in rappresentazione deve essere in funzione.[118]

"Dissertation sur ce Genre de Decoration qu'on apelle les Ordres d'Architecture," pp. (7–8).

111. Quoted by Stewart, "Essex," p. 319.

112. The following passage from Essex's notes is too near to Frézier's description of the same subject to be accidental: "There are some absurditys in Grecian architecture which custom only makes familiar for instance ye Corinthian Cap, if considered as a basket how can it be applied to Support an Entabl. without giving the impression [?] of being pressed by the Monster Weight which seem to lay upon it . . . The Character of Grecian Architecture is Solidity of Gothic Levety." (Add. MS 6771, f. 250r.) Here Frézier, III, p. (32): ". . . mais plusieurs y ont gravé sur le tambour, avec peu de jugement, dans les intervales des feuilles, les entrelaces d'un panier d'ozier, croyant bien faire de retracer aux yeux les sujet de l'invention de Callimacus, sans s'appercevoir du ridicule de cette application à un corps solide, qu'on reduit par cette idée à la foiblesse d'un panier, qui devroit etre ecrasé par le poid de l'entablement." Elsewhere (III, p. [7]) Frézier speaks of "la legereté Gothique."

113. Essex, Add. MS 6771, f. 34v, also 6765, f. 1r.

114. Essex, Add. MS 6771, f. 84r.

115. H. Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, London, 1803, pp. 197–198.

116. F. Algarotti, *Opere*, VI, Livorno, 1765, p. 210, letter to Temanza, 14 April 1759.

117. Algarotti, *Saggi*, *Opere*, II, p. 61.

118. F. Milizia, *Principj di Architettura Civile*, I, Bassano, 1785, p. 31

If one would like to continue one could also quote de Cordemoy, who may have been Algarotti's source, or rather Lodoli's. Repton speaks of ornaments also in another passage of his *Observations* and here he is more explicit:

I could wish, in speaking of architecture, if the use of language would admit of such distinction, to make a difference between the words *Ornament* and *Decoration*. The former should include every enrichment bearing *the semblance of utility*; the latter is supposed to have no relation whatever to the uses or construction of the building; thus for instance, a house may answer all the purposes of habitation without a column, a pilaster, an entablature, a pediment, a dome, an arcade, or a balustrade, which I call the external *ornaments* of Grecian architecture. (Note: That these ornaments, although not absolutely necessary, should appear to be *useful*, is evident from the disgust we feel at seeing them improperly applied; as in a column, without an entablature, or an arch supporting nothing, or a pediment without a roof . . .)[119]

This particular division into ornament and decoration is Repton's own, it seems, but again he may have received guidance from writers like Laugier or Frézier, who discuss this problem in a similar way as Repton, without however, making the same distinction as he does. That is what Laugier says:

Je vaudrois persuader à tout le monde une vérité que je crois très-certaine; c'est que les parties d'un Ordre d'Architecture sont les parties mêmes de l'édifice. Elles doivent donc être employées de manière non seulement à décorer le bâtiment mais à le constituer.[120]

In the preface to the second edition of the *Essai*, Laugier, referring to an adversary who had criticized the first edition, says:

Ignore-t-il que ce qu'on nomme un ornament, est une parure accidentelle dont on peut faire usage, et que l'on peut retrancher, sans que l'essentiel de l'Ordre d'Architecture en souffre. Les canelures et les autres richesses dont le ciseau du sculpteur charge les membres divers, sont de vrais ornemens, parce qu'on peut les admettre ou les supprimer sans altérer le fonds de la chose. Le pilastre est-il dans le cas? N'est-il pas évidemment partie essentielle de l'Ordre d'Architecture, faisant un tout avec l'entablement?[121]

Here is Frézier, perhaps somewhat more definite:

Les Entablemens sont apellez par Vitruve *Ornamenta*, les ornemens des Colonnes. Cette expression paroit fort impropre; parce que ce ne sont pas des accessoirs qu'on puisse ôter et mettre indifferement, ce sont au contraire les parties essentielles d'un édifice . . .[122]

The example of the house without orders, which Repton uses, derives from Laugier, who included in his *Essai* a chapter on "Des Edifices ou l'on n'employe aucun Ordre d'Architecture," where he said:

On peur faire de jolis et même de très-beaux bâtimens sans le secours des entablemens et des colonnes.[123]

Thus, however much Repton simplified Laugier's or Lodoli's sophisticated ideas and theories, he still deserves to be discussed at length since as far as can be seen he was the first to apply them to Gothic. Yet although Repton always tries to make a particular point in his various statements, no consistent theory emerges.

Finally we find several remarks in Repton's writings which foreshadow Pugin's tenets:

There is not more false taste in adding pointed arches and wooden battlements, to a modern building, than in cutting off the projections, filling up the recesses, and mutilating the picturesque appendages of a true Gothic structure.[124]

The following passages also give some idea of things to come:

The cheapness and facility with which good designs may be multiplied in *papier maché*, or putty composition, have encouraged bad taste in the lavish profusion of tawdry embellishment. This consideration leads me to assert, that every species of enrichment or decoration ought to be costly, either in its material or in its workmanship . . . it becomes contemptible in proportion as it *affects to seem what it is not*.[125]

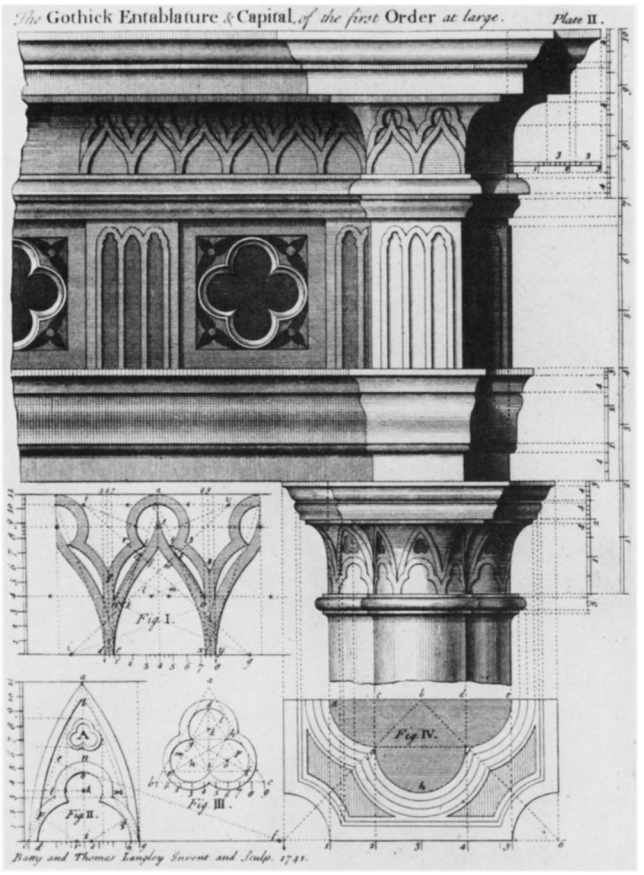
Repton adds by way of explanation in a footnote:

If a lady of high rank were to decorate her person with gauze and gilt paper, with glass beads, and the feathers of common English birds, instead of muslins and gold lace, diamonds, and the feathers of an ostrich, or bird of paradise; although she might be equally brilliant, and even dispose her dress with grace and fancied taste, we should pronounce it *tromperie*, as affecting *to seem what it is not*.[126]

One cannot help feeling that something has gone wrong in this simile, yet the general tenor can be understood: It has all to do with propriety and decorum. Propriety is also the moving force behind this statement:

So prevalent is the taste for what is called Gothic in the neighbourhood of great cities, that we see buildings of every description, from the villa to the pigstye, with little pointed arches, or battlements, to look like Gothic; and a Gothic dairy is now become as common an appendage to a place, as were formerly the hermitage, the grotto, or the Chinese pavilion. Why the dairy should be Gothic, when the house is not so, I cannot understand, unless it arises from that great source of bad taste, to introduce what is

119. Repton, *Observations*, p. 159.
120. Laugier, *Essai*, 2nd ed., p. xvii.
121. Laugier, *Essai*, 2nd ed., p. xvi.
122. Frézier, *Théorie*, III, p. (39).
123. Laugier, *Essai*, 2nd ed., p. 105.
124. Repton, *Observations*, p. 202n.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
126. *Ibid.*, p. 160n.


The Gothick Entablature & Capital of the first Order at large.
Plate II.
Fig I.
Fig II.
Fig III.
Fig IV.
Batty and Thomas Langley Invent and Sculp. 1741.

The First Gothic Order, from B. and Th. Langley, *Ancient Architecture . . . in the Gothic mode*, London, 1742.

called a pretty thing, without any reference to its character, situation or uses.[127]

Such a passage proves, too, that Repton had a deep understanding for Gothic and knew that follies had nothing to do with the real thing; this becomes obvious in the following passage:

It has been doubted how far a house, externally Gothic, should internally preserve the same character, and the most ridiculous fancies have been occasionally introduced in libraries and eating-rooms, to make them appear of the same date with the towers and battlements of the castle, without considering that such rooms are of modern inventions and consequently the attempt becomes an anachronism.[128]

Repton was fully aware too, as Willson and Pugin later on, that no proper Gothic prototypes existed; he divided Gothic into three types: "The *Castle* Gothic, the *Church* Gothic, or the *House* Gothic."[129] As final summing up of Repton's conception of Gothic architecture the following two sentences will serve best:

The great scale on which Gothic architecture was generally executed, is one source of the grand impression it makes on the mind . . . the *false Gothic* attempts of our modern villas, offend as much by their littleness as by the general incorrectness of detail.[130]

If in Repton's case and largely in Essex' one could surmise only that they read architectural treatises and theoretical works, it is different where Edward James Willson is concerned. John Britton who wrote his obituary describes him as a "lover of books," a diligent student, even a "bibliomaniac," who "had filled his house—mostly through my agency and mediation—with tomes of all sizes and of all ages . . . his readings extended over nearly the whole field of literature, and comprehended not merely archaeology and architecture, but all departments of learning science, and the fine arts."[131] Willson had not only books like "Burke on the Sublime," "Knight on taste 1806," Repton's "Enquiry into Changes of Taste 1806," but also a Catholic dictionary, the *Catholique Apology*, ten volumes of religious tracts and above all a rich collection of "De imitatione Christi and other works relating to the Authorship thereof."[132]

In 1821 and 1823 E. A. Willson and C. A. Pugin published their *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*.[133] Willson wrote the preface, a survey of the Gothic revival up-to-date in the first volume and "Remarks on Gothic Architecture and Modern Imitation" in the second, and the explanations to the plates; Pugin supplied the plates. Willson was nothing if not a purist; he, again like Essex, held that "Nothing could be more barbarous than such mixtures," that is the mixture of Gothic and Grecian. "Turrets, pinnacles, and open battlements, could have no legitimate affinity to Doric or Corinthian entablatures."[134] He also castigates Inigo Jones who "disfigured the decayed cathedral of St. Paul's

127. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
131. J. Britton, "A Brief Memoir of Edward James Willson, F.S.A.," *The Builder*, XIII, 6 Jan. 1855, pp. 4–5.
132. The sale of Willson's library took place at Lincoln by Mr. Weir (not Sotheby's, as stated by Britton) on 21–23 November 1854. The sales catalogue is not listed in Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques . . .*, The Hague, 1938, I, but there is a copy in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, London.
133. E. J. Willson and C. A. Pugin, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture . . . calculated to exemplify the various styles and the practical construction*, London, 1821–1823. The title of Willson's Preface is "Remarks on Gothic Architecture and on the Modern Imitations." Thus the avowed purpose of the book was to provide specimens for imitation.
134. Willson and Pugin, *Specimens*, I, p. ix.

. . . by casing its old Norman walls with rustic work, decorated with obelisks, and Doric triglyphs."[135]

Willson also reprimands Wren for condemning Gothic, as well as for his clumsy imitation of it and above all for not using it "pure," but mixed:

Wren . . . how unable has he shown himself to imitate the style he condemned! What are the towers he added to Westminster Abbey? Clumsy copies of those of St. John's Church Beverly, overlaid with cornices and other members, borrowed from Roman architecture. The octogonal tower erected by him over the chief entrance of Christ Church, Oxford, and such of the churches which he repaired or rebuilt in London, where any imitation of the *Gothic* style was attempted, exhibit such imperfect and poor designs as no living architect of any reputation would risk his credit upon.[136]

Willson recognises Walpole's role for the history of the Gothic revival and calls him:

That lovely and acute genius, the Hon. Horace Walpole contributed so much to spread a taste for the beauties of *Gothic* Architecture, especially amongst people of fashion both by his writings, and the construction of his celebrated Villa at Strawberry Hill.[137]

Elsewhere, however, he railed precisely against what Walpole had done:

True principles of taste have been sadly overlooked in many imitations of such buildings: showy compositions have been made up of parts indiscriminately copied from castles and churches, reduced to petty dimensions, stripped of their proper details . . .[138]

Willson is even more outspoken in the following passage:

The sovereign delights in a palace highly decorated with cupolas and minarets of eastern taste [the Brighton Pavillion]: his royal father contented himself with building a turreted house of brick and plaster [Kew]: we see peers of the realm dwelling in thatched cottages and city merchants inhabiting castles: and such is the confident strength of modern law, every subject may now freely *kernellate*, *embattle*, and *fortify* his mansion, without suing for licence or letter-patents to that effect.[139]

Willson, however, did not only object to poor imitations of Gothic, but was also opposed to the emanations of late Gothic; for him only Early English and Perpendicular counted. No wonder then that he abhorred Kent's attempts at Decorated and talked of the "execrable *Gothic* of Batty Langley; more contemptible than the most barbarous Latin of the feudal ages."[140]

On the other hand Willson, like Essex and Repton before him, was no narrow-minded Goth and had no objection to Grecian or Roman *per se*:

The respective beauties and conveniences proper to the Grecian orders in their pure state, or as modified by the Romans, and their successors, in the Palladian school, may be fully allowed, without a bigoted exclusion of the style we are accustomed to term *Gothic*. Nor ought its merit to be asserted to the disadvantage of classic styles. *Each has its beauties; each has its proportions; which ought never to be applied to the other.*[141]

He then went on to compare ancient styles to dead languages:

. . . in invention he [the architect] must endeavour to *think* in the manner of the original inventors . . . The scholar is left at full liberty to express his ideas in classic language; and the architect is not less at liberty to build in the ancient styles . . .[142]

But the architect must stick to the rules of whatever style he uses.

Willson gives no reason for being a Goth, but obviously considered Gothic the better style and called it "our old English architecture," conveniently forgetting that it was of French origin, as he knew only too well.[143]

In Willson's writings we find again obvious traces of classical theories; he applies the concept of propriety and conformity, he believes in purity of style. When Willson wrote the text for the *Examples of Gothic Architecture* in 1831, the younger Pugin had joined the undertaking. Willson himself probably a devout Roman Catholic, judging by his many books on religion, and possibly a much more devoted Gothicist than the elder Pugin, who had worked with John Nash for some considerable time, may well have greatly influenced the son. For the younger Pugin Gothic was the only style. Gothic alone fulfilled all Pugin's demands, it was honest in its construction, it was religious, in particular Roman Catholic, whilst the Renaissance and all classical styles were pagan and dishonest. The Gothic Revival now entered yet another phase—the ethical one.

Pugin and Honesty

A. W. N. Pugin, the son of C. A. Pugin was born one year before Wyatt—of execrable memory—died.[144] He was the Gothicist *par excellence*, for him there was only one style. He never wavered or erred from the straight path of

135. *Ibid.*, I, p. x.
136. *Ibid.*, I, pp. x–xi.
137. *Ibid.*, I, p. xi. Willson says, however, in a footnote on p. xv: "His imitations at Strawberry Hill are hardly called architecture."
138. *Ibid.*, II, p. xix.
139. *Ibid.*, II, p. xix.
140. *Ibid.*, I, p. xx.
141. *Ibid.*, I, pp. xix, xx. Italics mine.
142. *Ibid.*, I, p. xx.
143. In *Specimens*, II, pp. ix–x, Willson derides those who thought Gothic to have been of English origin.
144. The most recent literature on Pugin is an article by P. Stanton, *Pugin, Principles of Design versus Revivalism, JSAH*, XIII, 1954 and A. Boe, *From Gothic Revival to Functional Form*, Oslo and Oxford, 1957.

Birmingham, St. Chad's Roman Catholic Cathedral, by Pugin (photo: N.B.R.).

Gothic. Yet the theoretical basis of his Gothicism was classical, as it had been for Essex, Repton, and Willson.

Curiously enough Pugin's early attitude to Gothic was that of a romantic. In a letter to his friend Osmond possibly written in 1834 one might detect the influence of eighteenth-century poets and of Walter Scott. Equally curious, Pugin was the first architect—in contrast to antiquaries, poets, amateur architects, and other "Gothic Gentlemen"—who took up this attitude:

> I expect to sail next Thursday for France, and if the wind proves fair I shall soon be up to my ears in dilapidated chateaus, ruined abbeys, ancient libraries, venerable cathedrals, ancient towers, and splendid remains of every description of the middle ages.[145]

This romantic delight in crumbling ruins and mossy castles cannot have been but a fleeting mood. In 1836 Pugin published his first book: *Contrasts*. There he stated his fundamental beliefs for the first time:

> On comparing the Architectural Works of the present Century with those of the Middle Ages, the wonderful superiority of the latter must strike every attentive observer.

Then he continued:

> It will be readily admitted that the great test of Architectural beauty is the fitness of the design to the purpose for which it is intended, and that the style of a building should so correspond with its use that the spectator may at once perceive the purpose for which it was erected.[146]

Architecture must thus be mediaeval or more specifically Gothic and it must be functional. These two demands seem to contradict each other, the one backward looking, the other heralding a new age. Not so for Pugin. For him only Gothic fulfilled his demand for function, and for him only Gothic was honest. For Pugin there was no conflict.

Pugin without doubt did create a new architectural theory of great import. He based himself, of course, on existing theories; but he did not in an eclectic manner select his material from various schools of thought. Rather his imagination was fired by what he read and gradually he arrived at a new theory.

Pugin's principal stimulus was a religious one. In 1834 he wrote to Osmond:

> I can assure you that, after a most close and impartial investigation, I feel perfectly convinced the Roman Catholic Church is the only true one, and the only one in which the grand and sublime style of church architecture can ever be restored.[147]

'Round the turn of the century a religious revival had taken place, possibly as a counter movement to the Enlightenment and the rationalism of the eighteenth century. Pugin seems to have been influenced by the protagonists of this movement. One was a German, himself a convert from Protestantism to Rome, Friedrich von Schlegel, the other, Chateaubriand. There were others, of course,—Novalis, for instance, but his pamphlet of 1799, *Die Christenheit oder Europa*, remained untranslated. Schlegel's and Chateaubriand's influence on Pugin seems certain. The former's *Philosophy of History* was available in English in 1835.[148] Schlegel appears to be the first thinker for whom Antiquity was pagan in a derogatory sense, for whom Aristotle was "a guide very unsafe,"[149] although he realised that much of Plato had been incorporated into Christian thought.[150]

145. B. Ferrey, *Recollections of A. N. Welby Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin*, London, 1861, p. 90, an undated letter to Osmond.

146. A. W. N. Pugin, *Contrasts: or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and similar Buildings of the present Day*, London, 1836, p. 1.

147. Ferrey, *Recollections*, p. 88.

148. F. von Schlegel, *The Philosophy of History*, London, 1835, first published as *Philosophie der Geschichte*, Vienna, 1829.

149. Schlegel, *History*, II, p. 171.

150. Schlegel, *History*, II, p. 172.

Schlegel's aversion to Aristotle extended also to the schoolmen, though he did praise other mediaeval scholars and divines such as Scotus Erigena, Abelard, St. Anselm and St. Bernard.[151] Speaking of "Christian principles" he continues:

More strongly still than in its poetry, the richness of an inventive imagination displayed itself in the wonderful architecture of the middle age, as so many splendid monuments in Germany, England, a part of France, and in the North of Italy and Venice can attest. The style of the Byzantine churches was the first and principal model of this Gothic architecture.[152]

The principal argument of this passage occurs most frequently in Pugin's writings and the gist of the last sentence in particular was elaborated by him:

Byzantine, Lombard, Saxon, and Norman, were all various developments of Christian architecture on a cruciform plan with Christian symbols. Pointed architecture was the crowning result of these earlier efforts, which may be considered as the centering on which the great arch was turned.[153]

Pugin was firmly convinced that only within the Roman Catholic Church could he achieve his aesthetic ambitions and this conviction was at least a contributory factor toward his conversion. Pugin's belief, mentioned before, that "... the Roman Catholic Church is the ... only one in which the grand and sublime style of church architecture can ever be restored"[154] sounds like an echo of Chateaubriand's statement, "To Christianity the fine arts owe their revival and their perfection."[155]

Earlier Chateaubriand had told the history of iconoclasm in Byzantium:

The pictures belonging to the churches were consigned to the flames. Stupid and furious bigots, nearly resembling the Puritans of Cromwell's time, hacked to pieces with their sabres the admirable mosaic-works in the church of the Virgin Mary at Constantinople and in the palace of Blaquernae.[156]

Pugin had been brought up a puritan; later he rebelled against the ugliness of so many plain churches and such a story must have been balm to his soul. The likelihood that Pugin knew Chateaubriand's *Génie du christianisme* becomes certainty when one compares what the latter had to say on "Gothic Churches" with several passages in Pugin's writings.

Everything ought to be in its proper place. This is a truth become trite by repetition; but without its due observance there can be nothing perfect. The Greeks would not have been better pleased with an Egyptian temple at Athens than the Egyptians with a Greek temple at Memphis. These two monuments, by changing places would have lost their principal beauty; that is to say, their relations with the institutions and habits of the people. This reflection is equally applicable to the ancient monuments of Christianity ... In vain would you build Grecian temples, ever so elegant and well-lighted, for the purpose of assembling the *good people* of St. Louis and Queen Blanche, and making them adore a *metaphysical God*; they would still regret those *Notre Dames* of Rheims and Paris ... You could not enter a Gothic church without feeling a kind of awe and a vague sentiment of the Divinity. You were all at once carried back to those times when a fraternity of cenobites, after having meditated in the woods of their monasteries, met to prostrate themselves before the altar and to chant the praises of the Lord, amid the tranquility and the silence of the night. Ancient France seemed to revive altogether ...[157]

These outpourings by Chateaubriand are well matched by Pugin's:

If we worshipped Jupiter, or were votaries of Juggernaut we should raise a temple or erect a pagoda. If we believed in Mahomet, we should mount the crescent, and raise a mosque. If we burnt our dead, and offered animals to gods, we should use cinerary urns, and carve sacrificial friezes of bulls and goats. If we denied Christ, we should reject his Cross. For all these would be natural consequences: but in the name of commonsense, whilst we profess the creed of Christians, whilst we glory in being Englishmen, let us have an architecture, the arrangement and details of which will alike remind us of our faith and our country,—an architecture whose beauties we may claim as our own, whose symbols have originated in our religion and our customs ...[158]

If Chateaubriand says:

The reason is that all these things are essentially interwoven with their manners ...[159]

so Pugin writes:

The belief and manners of all people are embodied in the edifices they raised; it was impossible for any of them to have built consistently otherwise than they did.[160]

Even Pugin's somewhat ecstatic style may derive from Chateaubriand; of Pugin's it could be said what Napoleon is reported to have said of Chateaubriand's:

The style of Chateaubriand is not that of Racine, it is that of a prophet; he has received from nature the sacred flame; it breathes in all his works.[161]

151. Schlegel, *History*, II, pp. 170–171.
152. Schlegel, *History*, II, p. 169.
153. A. N. W. Pugin, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*, London, 1843, p. 7.
154. Cf. Ferrey, *Recollections*, p. 88, Pugin to Osmond, 1834.
155. F. R. de Chateaubriand, *Genius of Christianity*, 2nd ed., Baltimore, 1856, from the French *Génie du christianisme*, Paris, 1802, p. 666.
156. Chateaubriand, *Genius*, p. 376.
157. *Ibid.*, pp. 384–385.
158. Pugin, *Revival*, p. 6.
159. Chateaubriand, *Genius*, p. 385.
160. Pugin, *Revival*, p. 4.
161. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, XXXI, March 1832, p. 564, quoting *Memoirs of Napoleon*, IV, p. 342.

The following suggestion which Chateaubriand puts forward may well have sparked Pugin's *Contrasts*:

Take, for example, a picture, professedly of an impious tendency, and place beside it another picture on the same subject from the *Genius of Christianity*, and I will venture to affirm that the latter picture, however feebly executed, will weaken the impression of the first, so powerful is the effect of simple truth when compared to the most brilliant sophism.[162]

This passage was one of many which were published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1832. These lengthy extracts and the eulogies of the writer of the articles may have inspired Pugin to read the entire book, not a difficult task for him who had fluent French.

Chateaubriand's influence on Pugin thus appears established, although what he had to say obviously fell on very fertile ground. Chateaubriand began his discussion on Gothic churches with a statement on propriety; for Pugin, too, this very widespread doctrine was of paramount importance:

It is likewise essential to ecclesiastical propriety that the ornaments introduced about Churches should be appropriate and significant . . .[163]

Then he asks:

. . . is our wisdom set forth by the owl of Minerva, or our strength by the club of Hercules? . . . Let us away with such gross inconsistencies, and restore the Christian ideas of our Catholic ancestors, for they alone are proper for our imitation.[164]

For Pugin, then, classical art and paganism were synonymous, it was not appropriate for Christian churches:

What madness, then, while neglecting our own religious and national types of architecture and art, to worship at the revived shrines of ancient corruption and profane the temple of a crucified Redeemer by the architecture and emblems of heathen gods.[165]

Pugin was morally outraged at the idea of Christian worship in a heathen temple, but that it would simply be inappropriate to do so had been said earlier by Laugier:

There is nevertheless one thing to observe, that is that all sorts of ornaments do not agree with the decorations of our churches. There should be nothing in them profane, nothing ridiculous, nor immodest. There have been architects that have had judgement little enough to ornament the frise of a church with all the instruments proper for a pagan sacrifice or monstrous figures contrived by imagination and caprice . . .[166]

And a little further on he says:

Nudities above all in painting and sculpture ought to be absolutely banished hence.[167]

Pugin also held that religious conviction and architectural style must be firmly linked:

. . . there can be but little doubt that the religious ideas and ceremonies of these different people had by far the greatest influence in the formation of their various styles of architecture . . . each portion [of a church] is destined for the performance of some solemn rite of the Christian church . . . Such effects as these can only be produced on the mind by buildings, the composition of which has emanated from men who were thoroughly embued with devotion for and faith in the religion for whose worship they were erected . . .[168]

Do not we, or people around us today, hold that ours is not an age which can build churches successfully, because this is an age of godlessness?

In the *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, two lectures given at St. Mary's Oscott in 1841, Pugin summarized his beliefs. First he sets out the two great rules for design:

First, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety,
Second that all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building . . .
In pure architecture the smallest detail should *have a meaning or serve a purpose*; and even the construction itself *should vary with the material employed*, and the designs should be adapted to the material in which they are executed.

And then he goes on to say:

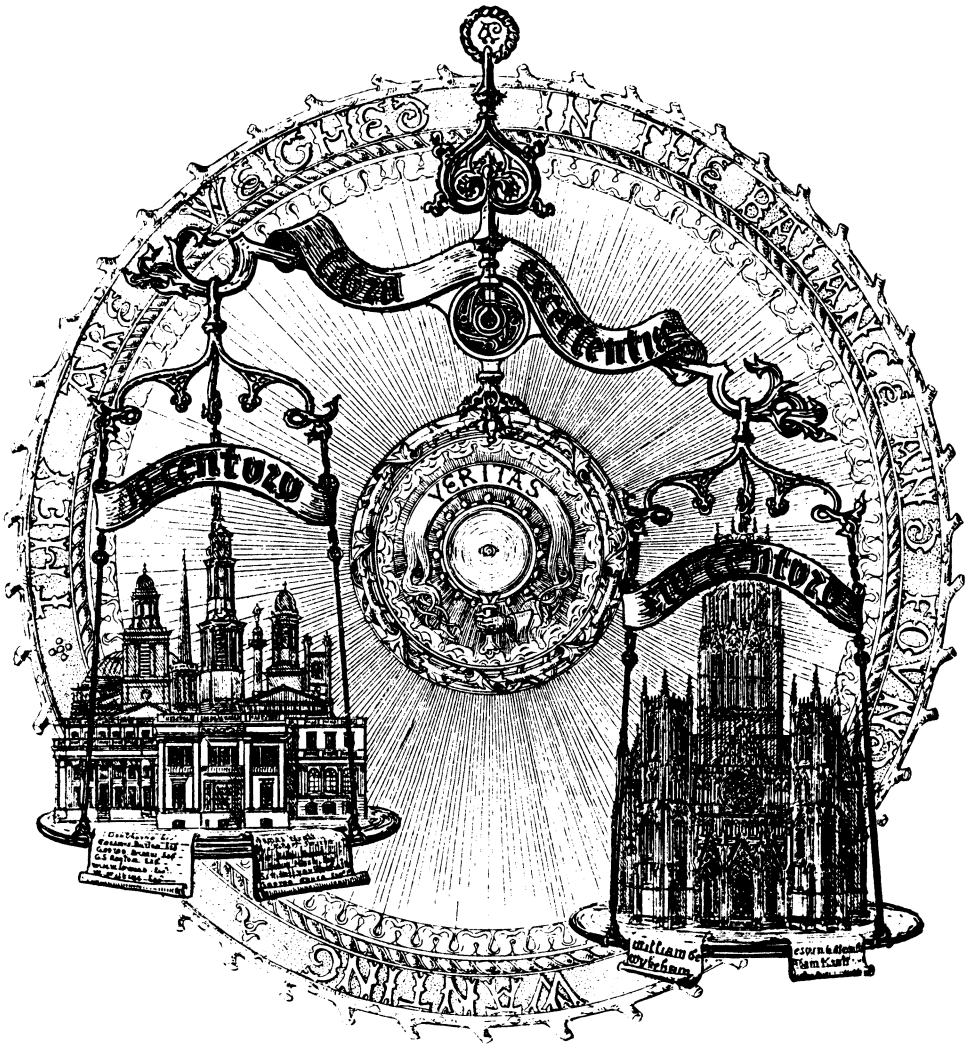
Strange as it may appear at first sight, it is *in pointed architecture alone that these great principles have been carried out.*[169]

Some of these statements are reminiscent of Repton and Pugin was almost certainly familiar with his writings. Yet Pugin's principles are so much more convincingly put and so much better understood that Pugin must himself have gone back to Repton's sources.

Milizia, whom we have recognized as a possible source for Repton, may also have inspired Pugin; it seems worthwhile to repeat here a statement of Milizia particularly relevant to Pugin:

In architettura dunque l'Ornato deve risultare dal necessario;

162. *Blackwood Edinburgh Magazine*, XXXII, August 1832, p. 222, French ed., III, pp. 263–266.
163. A. N. W. Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, London, 1841, p. 45.
164. Pugin, *Principles*, p. 46.
165. Pugin, *Contrasts*, 2nd ed., London, 1841, p. 18. This passage does not occur in the 1st ed.
166. Laugier, *Essay* (English ed.), p. 174.
167. Laugier, *Essay* (English ed.), p. 175.
168. Pugin, *Contrasts*, 1st ed., pp. 1–2.
169. Pugin, *Principles*, p. 1.



"They Are Weighed in the Balance and Found Wanting" (A. W. N. Pugin, *Contrasts*, 2d ed., London, 1841).

niente ha da vedersi in una fabbrica, che non abbia il suo proprio Uffizio, e che non sia integrante della fabbrica stessa; onde quanto e in rappresentazione deve essere in funzione.[170]

Milizia also demands that "ogni ornamento nasca del carattere dell'edificio"[171] and elsewhere that ". . . in architettura tutta ha da nascere del necessario."[172] One might object that Milizia was an unlikely source for Pugin because of his strictly classical attitude. However, Pugin obviously did not object to classical theory *per se*—and moreover Milizia had admitted that Gothic "ha le sue belezze."[173] Since Milizia was, in the opinion of his contemporary, Uggeri, nothing if not "l'écho de ces prédécesseurs . . . Laugier, Frézier, Lodoli,"[174] Pugin may have studied their writings, and there he would have found some considerable sympathy for Gothic.

Pugin like Repton could have read in Algarotti's "Letter on Architecture" that

170. Milizia, *Principj*, I, p. 31.

171. F. Milizia, *Dizionario delle belle arti del disegno*, I, Bassano, 1797, p. 252, quoted by E. Kaufmann, *Architecture in the Age of Reason*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1955, p. 245, n. 220.

172. F. Milizia, *Dell'arte di vedere*, Venice, 1781, quoted by Kaufmann, *Architecture*, p. 245, n. 223.

173. Milizia, *Dizionario*, I, p. 271, *s.v.* "Gotico."

174. A Uggeri, *Journée pittoresque*, IV, Rome, 1800, pt. I, p. ii, quoted by Kaufmann, *Architecture*, p. 245, n. 227. Milizia, *Principj*, p. 12 also mentions Frézier, de Cordemoy, Laugier, and Algarotti.

Cosi gli ornamenti nell'Architettura hanno da abellire la fabbrica, e mostrare insieme le parti essenziali, la ossatura di essa.[175]

Algarotti's *Saggi*, presenting Lodoli's theory and thought, might have supplied Pugin with many of his ideas, so for example when he said—and this passage had been taken over by Milizia practically word by word—

che niente ha da vedersi in una fabbrica, che non abbia il proprio suo uffizio, e non sia parte integrante della fabbrica stessa, che dal necessario ha da risultare onninamente l'ornato[176]

or

Niuna cosa . . . metter si dee in rappresentazione, che non sia anche veramente in funzione . . .[177]

Algarotti, again following Lodoli, was most insistent on truth to material and Pugin could have found there the inspiration for his theory—so near to his heart and always foremost in his mind—of truthfulness and honesty, particularly honesty to material:

Alle quali sostituirà quando che sia una Architettura sua propria, omogenea alla materia, ingenua, sincera, fondata sulla ragion vera delle cose, per cui salde si manterrano le fabbriche, intere, e in un fiore di lunghissima, e quasi che eterna giovinezza.[178]

Earlier Algarotti, again echoing Lodoli, had said:

Di pietra sono essi fabbricati; e mostrano essere di legnane . . . Perchè ragione la pietra non rappresenta ella la pietra, il legno il legno, ogni materia se medesima e non altra.[179]

Then he enlarged on this conception:

Cosicchè diversa essendo formalmente la natura del legno dalla natura della . . . pietra, niente vi ha di piu assurdo, egli [i.e., Lodoli] aggiunge, quanto il far si, che una materia non significhe se stessa, ma ne debba significare un'altra. Cotesto è un porre la maschera, anzi un continuo nientire che tu fai . . .[180]

There are very definite echoes of these ideas in Pugin's writings, for instance in what he has to say about the Greek temple:

Grecian architecture is essentially *wooden* in its construction . . . but is it not extraordinary that when the Greeks commenced building in stone, *the properties of this material did not suggest to them some different and improved mode of construction?* Such however was not the case; they set up stone pillars as they had set up trunks of wood; they laid stone lintels as they had laid wood ones, *flat across*, they even made the construction appear still more similar to wood, by carving triglyphs, which are merely a representation of the beam ends.[181]

For Pugin the imitation of wood in stone was dishonest, and he considered classical architecture dishonest; but while he granted that the Greek temple served a purpose and was all right for this purpose he was downright hostile to classical architecture:

Pointed architecture does not conceal her construction, but beautifies it: classic architecture seeks to conceal instead of decorating it . . .[182]

He blamed Wren for concealing the buttresses of the nave vault of St. Paul's; in this church

one half of the edifice is built to conceal the other.[183]

Pugin may therefore have felt justified in saying that the Gothicists were the only true followers of the classic theory:

The restorers of Christian architecture are more consistent followers of classic *principles* than all these boasted Greeks; they understand antiquity, and apply the ancient consistent rules to the new dispensation . . .
I have not unfrequently been denominated by the perpetrators of these absurdities as a fanatic for pointed design, a blind bigot insensible to, and ignorant of, any beauty but that of the middle ages. So far from this, I much question, if I am not better acquainted with the principles on which the various styles of pagan antiquity were founded than many of their warmest advocates. I believe them to be the *perfect expressions* of *imperfect systems*; the summit of human skill, expended on human inventions: but I claim for Christian art a merit and perfection which it was impossible to attain even in the Mosaic dispensation, much less in the errors of polytheism.[184]

In this attitude of coordination of Gothic and classical Pugin again could look back to predecessors. Not that any writer or architect had uttered such sentiments, but the classicist Laugier for instance was much taken by the height of Gothic churches,[185] and at the beginning of the century the Abbé de Cordemoy, who became most influential throughout the century had advocated such a coordination.[186] He had moved in the opposite direction to Pugin by pleading for an application of Gothic principles to classical architecture. However, Pugin may have been encouraged in his pursuits by de Cordemoy and come to the conclusion that the two opposites could be reconciled.

Pugin, more vocal and more passionate than Repton or Willson, had changed the whole conception of the Gothic

175. Algarotti, *Opere*, VI, p. 210 (see n. 116).
176. Algarotti, *Saggi*, *Opere*, II, p. 61.
177. Algarotti, *Saggi*, *Opere*, II, p. 62.
178. Algarotti, *Saggi*, *Opere*, II, pp. 66–67.
179. Algarotti, *Saggi*, *Opere*, II, p. 65.
180. Algarotti, *Saggi*, *Opere*, II, p. 66.
181. Pugin, *Principles*, pp. 2–3.
182. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
183. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
184. Pugin, *Revival*, p. 5.
185. Laugier, *Essay* (English ed.), p. 201.
186. Cf. Middleton, "The Abbé de Cordemoy," *passim*.

Revival; not for him the mock-Gothic, the follies, the picturesque. Most of all he railed against the indiscriminate use of revival styles—mainly out of his sense for propriety, possibly not uninfluenced by Willson:

Let us look around, and we see whether the Architecture of this country is not entirely ruled by whim and caprice. Does locality, destination, or character of a building, form the basis of a design? no; surely not. We have Swiss cottages in a flat country; Italian villas in the coldest situations; a Turkish kremlin for a royal residence: Greek temples in crowded lanes, Egyptian auction rooms; and all kinds of absurdities and incongruities . . .[187]

Mock Gothic receives its censure:

. . . watch towers, where the housemaids sleep, and a bastion in which the butler cleans his plate: all is mere mask, and the whole building an ill-conceived lie.[188]

When Pugin rails against the "Abbey Style," he obviously thinks of Fonthill:

. . . the transepts are drawing-rooms; the cloisters, a furnished passage; the oratory, a lady's boudoir; the chapter-house, a dining-room; *the kitchens alone* are real; everything else is a deception.[189]

He also objects to the artificial picturesque:

The picturesque effect of the ancient buildings results from the ingenious methods by which the old builders overcame local and constructive difficulties.[190]

Pugin in his objection to the artificial picturesque returns here to the fundamentals of architecture:

But I am quite assured that all the irregularities that are so beautiful in ancient architecture are the result of certain necessary difficulties, and were never purposely designed; for to make a building inconvenient for the sake of obtaining irregularity would be scarcely less ridiculous than preparing working drawings for a new ruin. But all these inconsistencies have arisen from this great error—*the plans of buildings are designed to suit the elevation being made subservient to the plan.*[191]

Pugin was the first of several nineteenth-century architects who, under the guise of Gothic, achieved a highly original style. But this is another story.

In conclusion one might be able to say that *quod erat demonstrandum* had been proved. There were many Gothic revivals, each brought about for a different reason and each stemming from a different root. But all these roots belong to the tree of classical theory.

The final question, however, remains unanswered: Was there not a single underlying reason for these and the other revivals mentioned at the beginning? This, also, is too involved a problem to be solved here and now. One reason, put forward before, is certainly valid: the vacuum created by the breakdown of the academic tradition.[192] Another one, valid only for the Gothic Revival in England may have been that the Renaissance and its aftermath came to England very late and never settled as firmly here as the Baroque and Neoclassicism in France or the Baroque in Germany.

Yet classical theory was strong enough to demand a hearing.

187. Pugin, *Contrasts* (1st ed.), p. 30.
188. Pugin, *Principles*, p. 59.
189. Pugin, *Principles*, p. 59.
190. Pugin, *Principles*, p. 62.
191. Pugin, *Principles*, p. 63. Pugin's inclination toward classical theory is also expressed when he takes "the human figure . . . [as] a general standard for scale" (*Principles*, p. 65).
192. Cf. F. Kimball, "Romantic Classicism in Architecture," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XXIII, 1944, p. 96.